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NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Edited by
LEWIS THORPE

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NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume I 1957

EDITORIAL

The concept of this journal came into my mind during a conversation which I had with the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nottingham on a certain morning in January in the year 1956. We were discussing the claims which research, lecturing, supervising and administration should each legitimately make upon the time and strength of those who teach the humanities in provincial universities; and we passed on to a consideration of the rôle, and indeed the expectation of life, of the Arts subjects in such universities, faced as these subjects are with the ever-increasing importance of the pure and applied Sciences, of technological training and of various forms of vocational preparation. In certain ways the picture which we drew for ourselves was more reassuring than I personally had expected it to be. One particular feature of that picture was to me especially intriguing, although indeed it could not be said to dominate the canvas. This was the number of our colleagues who were, with great ability and enthusiasm, teaching, doing research upon and supervising research upon various aspects of mediaeval studies. In all these things one must retain a balance and a sense of measure, and to claim creative ability and enthusiasm for the linguists, the historians and the students of literature who were devoting their attention to the Europe of the Middle Ages was not to set them in competition with those dedicated to other subjects and periods; but ability and enthusiasm were undoubtedly in the mediaevalists, and one outcome was the production of a considerable amount of research work which was being disseminated in the learned journals of Europe and America, or remaining either unpublished or locked up in typewritten theses in the University library. Since 1937 the University of London has to some extent solved this last specific problem by the printing of the journal called *London Medieval Studies*; and it seemed to us on that January morning that a similar journal might well be published by the University of Nottingham.

During the year 1956 the possibility of a publication to be called *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* was debated in various university committees. The present volume is the first outcome of these debates.

Nottingham Mediaeval Studies is to appear once each year at the beginning of September. It is to consist of some hundred pages of print divided preferably between four or five major articles. These articles are to be written

by the academic staff of the University, its research students and its graduates, with an occasional contribution by an authority not connected with the University, especially when that outside contribution follows naturally upon some other article already published. The journal is to contain none of those snippets of information which, under the heading of *Miscellaneous Notes* or *Shorter Articles and Notes*, fill the pages of other journals; and no space is to be given to reviews, long or short.

In its application to the articles published the word mediaeval is to be given a liberal interpretation: it is to include, for example, material which looks forward from classical or post-classical times to the Middle Ages, articles on the Italian culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and mediaeval material which looks forward to the English, French or German Renaissances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As befits the broad humanity of the Middle Ages, the material printed is to be presented in a way likely to appeal to all students of the period, the jargon of each specialism being avoided as far as possible. The fields of learning to be covered are to include literature, history, philology and linguistics, the history of painting and of music, religion and local history; and these humane studies are to be followed freely across the map of Europe, in an attempt to revert to that solidarity of scholarship which existed at a time when the national vernaculars were indeed already well developed but when Latin was still there to bridge the boundaries. Between these fields of learning a balance will be struck in each annual number of the journal. In the 1957 volume Professor E. A. Thompson of the Department of Classics writes upon the diffusion of Christianity among the Germanic peoples in the fourth and fifth centuries; Mr. R. I. Page, lecturer in English language, gives with full critical apparatus an edition of *Drauma-Jóns Saga*; Dr. K. C. King, Head of the Department of Germanic Languages, discusses motives and literary sources in German heroic literature, with particular application to his forthcoming edition of the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*; and Mr. M. W. Barley of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies reports his researches into twelfth-century Cistercian land-clearance in Nottinghamshire, with especial reference to the parishes of Rufford and Grimston with Wellow.

LEWIS THORPE

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS

At the second ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, the assembled fathers discussed certain aspects of the administration of the Church. Among the decisions taken by them was one to the effect that the churches of God among the barbarian peoples must be governed according to the established custom.[1] What churches existed among the northern barbarians at that date? How and to what extent was Christianity diffused among the Germanic peoples in the fourth and fifth centuries? And when those peoples crossed the Imperial frontiers what steps were taken by the Church to convert them to Christianity in cases where they were still pagan?[2]

I

Barbarian warriors who had enlisted in the Imperial armies might come to know and accept the religion to which many of their Roman fellow-soldiers subscribed. We have the explicit testimony of a fifth-century author that this sometimes happened, and his word cannot be doubted.[3] But it is not easy to believe, and our authority does not claim, that many such warriors on their return to their people were able to induce any considerable section of their tribe to abandon their traditional cult and to begin to worship the God of the Romans. Much would depend, of course, on the character and status of the returned warrior himself. If he had been a respected tribesman or even a chief before his departure, his influence might be far from small after his return. Even a lesser figure might enjoy a temporary prestige when he

[1]Hefele, *Hist. des Conciles*, ii, 1, Paris 1908, 22.

[2]We are not concerned here with the steppe nomads, for whom see G. László, "Die Reiternomaden der Völkerwanderungszeit und das Christentum in Ungarn," *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, lix (1940), 125–46, E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, Oxford 1948, 37–9, and note some interesting pages of pseudo-Zachariah of Mitylene, transl. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, London 1899, 329–31. Nor shall we dwell on the archaeological evidence for Christianity beyond the northern frontier. Most of it comes from Rumania and seems to be derived from the Romano-Dacians who continued to live there under the Visigoths: see references in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vii (1956), 1f. Note also W. Kubitschek, *Römerfunde von Eisenstadt*, Vienna 1926, 56.

[3]Pseudo-Prosper, quoted below n.6. It would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, returning German mercenaries brought back Mithraism with them to their homes. No evidence has been found: C. Clemen, "Mithrasmysterien und germanische Religion," *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xxxiv (1937), 217–26. But, of course, when so many Germans served in the Roman army, the *argumentum ex silentio* is dangerous. No safe conclusions can be drawn from the fact that the ashes of a Visigoth were buried *c.* 300 at Lechinţa de Mures in Transylvania in a snake-handled urn of a type which is alleged to have been often associated with Mithraic ritual: see E. Beninger, "Ein westgotisches Brandgrab von Maros-Lekencze (Siebenbürgen)", *Mannus*, xxx (1938), 122–41, esp. 129–35. The urn may have been taken as booty from the provinces by the Visigoth whose remains it finally contained. But C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'antiquité*, Bucharest 1945, 224 n. 2, argues that the urn is in a traditional Geto-Dacian style. For a Mithraeum at Kreta, twelve miles south of the Danube on the right bank of the Utus (Vid), which seems to have been destroyed by the Goths towards the end of the third century, see I. Welkov, *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, viii (1934), 90 f.

came back with his Roman ways and his knowledge of the world and his pocket full of Roman money. On the other hand, it is easy to see that he might well run the risk of becoming something like an outcast if when he returned home he refused to take part any longer in the clan feasts and the ceremonies of his kindred. The Visigoth St. Sabas was expelled outright from his village and was eventually abandoned to his fate because of his persistent refusal to worship with his fellow-villagers.[4] And even if the punishment were not so severe, even if there were no formal punishment at all, the mockery and abuse of his neighbours might well daunt the new convert, compel him to hold his opinions in silence, and outwardly to conform to the old ways.[5] In such circumstances the converts whom he might win to his faith would probably be few, and it has never been claimed that any of the great Germanic peoples was converted by returned mercenaries: their activities will only account for the presence of individual Christians beyond the frontier.

Secondly, that same fifth-century author who mentions the conversion of barbarian soldiers serving in the Roman armies says also that sons of the Church, when carried off captive by the barbarians, would sometimes enslave their masters to the gospel of Christ and win them to the faith.[6] Here again his word cannot be doubted; and the importance of these prisoners in converting their captors was far greater than that of returned soldiers. There is a famous story that the Georgian people were converted in Constantine's reign by the efforts of a single captive woman; and the story is usually regarded as being substantially true.[7] But even if it is not true, its mere existence illustrates the part which Christian prisoners were thought to play in spreading their religion beyond the frontiers. And there can be no denying that the very basis of the Christian communities in Gothia before the days of Ulfila and

[4] *Passio S. Sabae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxi (1912), 216–21.

[5] The Christian Roman prisoners in Gothia also had to put up with some mockery at what were considered the oddities of their religion: Sozomen, ii. 6. 3. Cf. St. Patrick, *Conf.* xlii. Here is what an Irishman is reported to have said to Patrick: "tu filio meo babtismum da, quia tener est. ego autem et fratres mei non possimus tibi credere usque dum ad nostram plebem pervenerimus, ne inrideant nobis," Tírachán, *Brev.* xiv = p. 309. 13, Rolls ed. The response of a German tribesman would perhaps not have been very different.

[6] Pseudo-Prosper, *de Invoc. omnium Gentium* ii. 33 (Migne, P. L. li. 717 f.) "quidam ecclesiae filii ab hostibus capti dominos suos Christi Euangelio manciparunt, et quibus condicione bellica serviebant, eisdem fidei magisterio praefuerunt. at alii barbari dum Romanis auxiliantur, quod in suis locis nosse non poterant, in nostris didicere regionibus, et ad sedes suas cum Christianae religionis institutione remearunt." See also Sozomen, ii. 6. 2, who seems to have considered the conversion of barbarians by their Christian prisoners, and especially by the clergy among the prisoners, to have been a common occurrence.

[7] Rufinus, *HE.* i. 10. The general truth of the story is accepted by P. Peeters, "Les débuts du Christianisme en Géorgie d'après les sources hagiographiques." *Analecta Bollandiana*, l (1932), 5–58, C. Toumanoff, "Christian Caucasia Between Byzantium and Iran," *Traditio*, x (1954), 109–89, at 126, etc. Cf. the legendary Phemion among the Arabs of the Nejd: T. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, Leyden 1879, 178–82, and the Christian prisoners of the Bulgars, Theophanis Contin., v. 4 (pp. 216 f., ed. Bonn), Theophylact, *Hist. Mart.* xxix ff. (Migne, P. G. cxxvi. 192 ff.). For a Moorish parallel see Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persec.* i. 35 f.

throughout much, if not all, of his lifetime was formed by the Christians, both clergy and lay, who had been taken in the great third-century Gothic raids on the Roman provinces, and by their descendants, of whom Ulfila himself was one. They earned the respect of the Visigoths, we are told, by using their medical skill (which would be far higher than anything known beyond the Danube), by curing the possessed, by the steadfastness of their faith, and by the blamelessness of their lives.[8] Their influence on Visigothic history was not negligible. They undoubtedly made a number of converts, at any rate in the poorer strata of Visigothic society; and although the Visigoths were still an essentially pagan people when they entered the Roman Empire in 376, the course of the conversion might well have been altered had it not been for these men and women. It does not follow, of course, that an appreciable number of converts was won in every place where Christian prisoners were to be found. Thus, Arnobius tells us that there were Christians—and he may well include Christian prisoners from Gaul—among the Alamanni at the beginning of the fourth century. Yet few would believe that Christianity made any significant impression on the Alamanni for many a generation after that date.[9]

A third means by which Christianity is sometimes thought to have crossed the Roman frontier into the northern barbarian world is less explicitly discussed by our ancient authorities. It is sometimes contended that Christianity travelled with commerce. Now the strong influence of commerce on some of the post-Roman, mediaeval missions, especially those of the Church of Hamburg, can be seen very clearly. Then a missionary would travel along the trade routes in the company of merchants; and he might base his work on the trading settlements of the North, like Birca (Björkö) or Sliaswich (Hedeby, near Schleswig), for here he could find, especially at the great pagan religious festivals, not only a considerable number of Christian prisoners held as slaves but also throngs of Christian merchants who had come to these distant waters to trade the rich goods of the South for the fish, furs, honey, wax, and slaves of the North. He could also find a number of native merchants who had imbibed Christianity on their long voyages abroad. The missionary's first step would be to win the favour of the local chieftain and his leading men by means of lavish bribery,[10] obtain permission to preach openly, and secure a guarantee that there would be no penalization of any convert whom he might win. Finally, he would take all possible steps to establish a church building

[8]Sozomen, loc. cit. On the value of a medical training to a prisoner of the barbarians see *Anthol. Lat.* ii, No. 1414; and for the value of a high Christian morality see Jerome, *Vita Malchi* vi (Migne, P. L., xxiii. 58).

[9]Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* i. 16, cf. Sozomen, ii. 6. 1.

[10]I cannot refrain from quoting Herbord, *Dial.* ii. 7. 12 (*MGH. Scriptores*, xx), where he describes how Otto of Bamberg gave an ivory staff to the local Pomeranian chief: "donariis ducem honorans, baculum quoque dedit eburneum, quo ille statim usus ipsoque incumbens gratulabundus huc illucque deambulabat, conversosque ad milites, 'qualem', ait, 'patrem nobis dedit Deus et qualia patris dona, et haec nunc quidem magis quam alio tempore gratiora'."

with a preacher permanently on the spot so that the pagans might be exposed to continuous Christian influence. The whole process might well be backed by the interest, authority, and money not only of the Church in the German Empire but also of the Emperor himself, who might regard the mission as a sound political investment. In the Scandinavian world, for example, the missions had to be based on the merchants and the trading posts, or they could not be undertaken at all.[11]

But is it possible to project these or similar conditions back into Roman times, and to suppose that commerce and trading communities played some considerable part in extending Christianity beyond the northern frontier? It is said that shortly before St. Ambrose's death in 397 a Christian who had travelled from Italy into the country of the Marcomanni north of the middle Danube spoke about Ambrose to the local queen Fritigil. He spoke to such effect that the queen believed in Christ and sent to Ambrose for written instruction in the Christian faith. Ambrose, who had done nothing, so far as we know, to introduce the Marcomanni to Christianity, seized this opportunity and wrote "an excellent letter in the manner of a catechism" to the queen. Now the anonymous traveller who won the queen's confidence is thought to have been a merchant; and this may well have been the case.[12] A more instructive figure in this connexion (though he was not concerned with the northern frontier) is Frumentius, whose life fell in the first half of the fourth century and whose story is so familiar that there is no need to summarize it here.[13] After he was established in power at Axum in Ethiopia he began to seek out any Roman merchants in the town who happened to be Christian. He gave them exceptional privileges, and urged them to provide themselves with meeting houses at which they could gather together for prayer in the Roman fashion. Eventually he went to Alexandria where he was consecrated as bishop of Axum by St. Athanasius. Up to this point in his career his efforts had been directed solely towards the Roman merchants in Axum,[14] and hence his activity hitherto is no parallel to that of Ansgar (801–65) and Rimbert in Scandinavia. But having been appointed bishop he then proceeded to work for the conversion of the native inhabitants of the town. He did not become a missionary among the barbarians until he had consolidated his position among the Roman traders of the port and until he had won official recognition for his work. The Christian Roman traders themselves do not appear to have been doing anything to win over the barbarians, or their pagan fellow-Romans, to Christianity before Frumentius' rise to power. Indeed, if Frumentius had not obtained his high

[11]All these points will be found abundantly illustrated in St. Rimbertus, *Vita S. Anskarii*, and in the anonymous *Vita* of Rimbert himself (both edited by G. Waitz, *SS. rer. Germ.*, 1884).

[12]Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii* xxxvi, cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, Paris 1918, 544. But there is no Roman parallel to Adam of Bremen, iv. 16 "una ibi [sc. in Curland] nunc facta est ecclesia, cuiusdam studio negotiatoris," etc.

[13]Rufinus, *HE.* i. 9.

[14]Socrates, i. 19. 10, and Sozomen, ii. 24. 8, go astray on this point.

office and if the Christian merchants had been left in their former state of indifference towards the natives of the place and their own pagan Roman companions, it is not easy to see how Christianity could have registered any appreciable success in Axum in the mid-fourth century. Moreover, throughout Rufinus' account of Frumentius' career there is no indication that the bishop of Alexandria was carefully watching events in Axum or that he took any initiative in fostering the work of Frumentius. He acted when Christian communities were already flourishing in the city, and then only when Frumentius drew his attention to the position. His attitude towards the Axumites was very different from that of Gregory the Great towards the English or of St. Ansgar towards the Danes and the Swedes. Finally, there is still less any indication that the Emperor far away in Constantinople took any heed of the work of Frumentius until Athanasius had consecrated him. And even then the Emperor only interfered, so it would seem, in order to counteract his sectarian opponents: he did not wish to allow heretics (as the Catholics were, in his eyes) to gain the upper hand among the Roman traders or the native inhabitants at the mouth of the Red Sea.[15] His attitude was very different from that of Louis the Pious and other mediaeval rulers towards the evangelistic activities of the Church of Hamburg and other centres. In fact, it could scarcely be claimed that Axum is in any significant way a parallel to Birca and Sliaswich. The energy and capacity of one prisoner acting on his own initiative used the presence in the city of Christian Roman merchants so as to establish a church *among* but not in the first instance *for* the barbarians. There is no true parallel here to the great systematic, organized missionary enterprises of the Church of Hamburg.

Now Axum was a thriving port of great importance on the trade routes to Africa and India. Can it be thought that anything like such conditions as existed even at Axum (to say nothing of Birca) could be found among the Germanic barbarians beyond the Rhine and the Danube? Only one community of Roman merchants permanently resident among the northern barbarians is reported by ancient writers. That is the community of which Tacitus speaks as existing in the capital of Maroboduus' kingdom in the early days of the Roman Empire;[16] and that this was in many ways unique throughout the whole history of the Germans' relations with the Empire is strongly suggested by the archaeological evidence. We know of no great pagan festivals among the Germans of the Roman period at which throngs of Christian Roman merchants would be present. Nor is there any reason to suppose that substantial numbers of Germanic merchants had been to the Empire and had been converted there. And finally, it is highly unlikely that any Roman Christian ever managed to secure a position among a Germanic people comparable to that which Frumentius won at Axum. In a word, all the pre-requisites for the achievements of

[15]Cf. Philostorgius, iii. 4 (pp. 32 f., ed. Bidez), 6 (p. 35), and Constantius' letter quoted by Athanasius, *Apol. ad Const.* xxxi (Migne, P. G., xxv. 636 f.).

[16]Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii. 62. 4.

Axum and Birca (such as they were) were lacking beyond the northern frontier. If we wish to speculate we may suppose no more than that small communities of Roman traders, with some Christians among them, living in less favourable conditions than those of Maroboduus' kingdom, may have existed somewhere in Gothia in the days of Athanaric, or somewhere in the Ukraine in the time of Ermanaric, or among the fourth-century Vandals or Gepids. But for such a supposition there is no evidence; and even if such communities existed, it would scarcely be claimed that they resulted in the conversion of whole peoples, or even substantial sections of peoples, to the Christian faith.

Christianity, then, filtered across the northern Imperial frontier by way of some of the prisoners taken in the barbarian raids on the Roman provinces and by way of Germanic soldiers who returned home after completing their service with the Roman armies; and to a slight extent it may have reached the barbarians of the north in the wake of the Roman traders who hawked their wares beyond the Rhine and the Danube. But the efforts of prisoners, mercenaries, and traders were haphazard and unorganized, and in themselves they won no major victories for the Church. It is salutary to remember that all three of these influences were brought to bear upon the early-ninth-century Swedes. Christian war-prisoners, Christian merchants from Frisia, and Christian Swedes who had been converted abroad when serving as traders or as mercenaries could all alike be found in substantial numbers in southern Sweden; and yet their combined influence, together with the strenuous and sustained efforts of Ansgar and Rimbert, made little impression on the paganism of the country.

Evidence has been found in the Gothic language for the existence of Latin- as well as Greek-speaking "missionaries" in Gothia before the days of Ulfila.[17] But there is no reason to suppose that these missionaries were sent out by the Church with the explicit aim of converting the Visigoths: they may well have been war-prisoners—Christians, both clergy and lay, are known to have been carried off by the Goths in the third century.[18] In fact, the Catholic Church is not reported to have sent any bishops or lesser clergy to minister to the Catholic prisoners in Gothia during the later third century or the first decades of the fourth; and the Arians consecrated Ulfila as bishop only in 341. That is to say, for two generations after the prisoners had been carried off from their homes in Asia Minor and elsewhere they were neglected, so far as we know, by the Churches. Moreover, although Ulfila is known to us as "the Apostle of the Goths," he was originally appointed by Eusebius of Nicomedia not to act as bishop of the Goths in general but to serve as bishop of those Christians who were already living in Gothia in 341 and who were, we may suppose, for the most part not Visigoths at all but Roman prisoners or their descendants.[19] In other words, Ulfila was not appointed in the first place in order to evangelize

[17]W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1934, 513, M. H. Jellinek, *Gesch. d. gotischen Sprache*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 188 ff.

[18]Philostorgius, ii. 5, p. 17. 11, ed. Bidez.

[19]See the article cited in n. 38 below.

the Visigoths and to win a pagan people to Christianity but simply to minister to those Romans and others in Gothia who were already converted:[20] Eusebius did not necessarily envisage a Gothic Bible when he consecrated Ulfila. The Gothic bishop's position was similar to that of Palladius when pope Celestine sent him in 431 as bishop to the Scots in Ireland who believed in Christ.[21] Those whom our authority calls "Scots" undoubtedly included many Roman Christians who had been carried off in Irish raids on Britain—towards the end of the fourth century, for example, "thousands" of persons, including the young Patrick, were carried off from Britain in a single raid;[22] and no doubt many of these were Christian. It would, of course, be an error to think that the majority of the Christians in Ireland at that time were Romans;[23] and in this there is a difference from the position in Gothia ninety years earlier. But two points of similarity should be noted. First, such of the Christians in Ireland as were in fact Roman provincials languished in captivity for many a year (as the experience of Patrick shows) before Palladius was sent to comfort them; and the fate of the Christian Roman prisoners in Gothia was similar. Secondly, just as there is no indication that Celestine intended Palladius to set about converting the pagan Scots, so there is no indication that Eusebius intended Ulfila to convert the pagan Visigoths. True, Ulfila and Palladius' successor, Patrick, when once they had been consecrated, worked to convert the barbarians. But this was not the purpose for which they had been consecrated in the first place, and neither of them is known to have received any help or encouragement in his evangelistic work from the clergy or the secular rulers of the Empire.[24]

In a word, the Churches of the fourth and fifth centuries delayed for a curiously long time to send bishops to their captive sons and daughters beyond the frontier; and they made little or no organized or planned effort to save the barbarians from the fire everlasting. With the minor exception of the exiled Audius (who was neither a Catholic nor an Arian, but the founder of a sect of his own), we do not know of a single bishop of a Roman frontier town who went into German territory with a view to converting the natives. If a Christian community were found to exist beyond the frontier, as, for example, in Ireland, Gothia, and Ethiopia, the Church would consecrate a bishop to minister to it (though presumably it would do so only if requested by the community in question);[25] but it made no effort to bring such communities into existence.

[20]Philostorgius, ii. 5 (p. 18. 1 f.). His words are not contradicted by Auxentius, p. 75, 6 f. (ed. Kauffmann) "propter multorum salutem in gente Gothorum . . . episkopus est ordinatus," who in that passage is summarizing the results of Ulfila's mission rather than giving us Eusebius' motives for appointing him in the first instance.

[21]Prosper, *Chron. Min.*, i. 473 "ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur."

[22]Patrick, *Conf.*, 1.

[23]Prosper, loc. cit.

[24]Contrast the policy of the Church of Hamburg in the early ninth century, which sent out presbyters *both* to preach to the gentiles *and* to console the Christian prisoners: *Vita S. Rimberti* xvi, p. 94, ed. Waitz.

[25]Pope Celestine, *Ep.*, iv. 5 (Migne, P. L., l. 434).

The reasons for this attitude on the part of the Church need not detain us, and the sharp contrast with the practice of Carolingian times has more than once been pointed out.[26]

II

What then of the barbarians who had crossed the frontier and were moving through the Roman provinces? The evangelistic work of Niceta, the eminent bishop of Remesiana in the province of Dacia Mediterranea, some twenty-four miles south-east of Naissus (Nish), a man who is sometimes thought to have been the author of the *Te Deum*, was applauded by his friend Paulinus of Nola at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. Two points are noteworthy in Paulinus' words. First, as one of the most important results of Niceta's success among the barbarians he sees the fact that the Goths will now live at peace with the Romans of the neighbourhood in which they had settled.[27] For him the conversion of certain Goths has a political side: it will mitigate some of the horror of the invasions. This was a point which the fourth- and fifth-century Emperors seem to have missed: none of them is known to have conceived the idea that to convert a barbarian people to Christianity might well be to win an ally or at any rate to modify the hostility of an enemy. Secondly, Paulinus expresses no less satisfaction at the work of Niceta among the Bessian brigands of the neighbourhood. We do not always realize the extent to which the poorer classes among the Roman provincials co-operated with the barbarian invaders, or at any rate used the occasion of a barbarian invasion to revolt against the established order. And yet this co-operation and this tendency to rebel are not the least remarkable facts in late Roman history. Hence, Niceta seems to have devoted no less time and energy to the Bessi than he gave to the Goths: they were no less a threat to law and order than were the barbarians themselves, and the upshot of Niceta's mission, according to Paulinus, was that the Bessian brigands became monks![28] There may be some exaggeration here, but it would seem that the missionary had restored law and order among the native population as well as, and perhaps better than, any contemporary general could have done. What Niceta in fact achieved was to turn Gothic invader and Bessian brigand alike to Christianity and incidentally to some sort of acquiescence in the harsh and oppressive rule of the Emperors.[29]

[26]K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen 1928, iii. 117–29, cf. R. E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum*, xxviii (1953), 705–40, at 709–11.

[27]Paulinus, *carm.* xvii. 245 ff., 261 ff. Cf. Jerome, *Ep.*, lx. 4.

[28]Paulinus, *carm.*, xvii. 213 ff.

[29]By coincidence a papyrus shows us two Bessians named Boraides and Zemarchus working side by side in 561 with two Germans (as it seems) named Illerich and Tangilas (Ilderic and Tancila): they are all four of them *buccellarii* in Egypt, *POxy.*, xvi. 1903 (cf. 2046), with the edd. ad loc. Cf. F. Zucker, "Germanen im römischen und byzantinischen Ägypten," *Geistige Arbeit*, vi, No. 13 (1939), 3–6, at 4, H. Kortenbeutel, "Germanen in Ägypten," *Mitteilungen d. deutschen Instituts f. ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, viii (1939), 177–84, at 183. (To their references to Germans in the papyri add H. Zilliacus, *Vierzehn Berliner griechische Papyri*, Helsingfors 1941, 85 f., No. 13 Οὐλιάριχ).

Paulinus also tells us in a letter which he wrote either in 398 or in 400 of the missionary work carried out in Belgica Secunda by the last Continental Roman author known to have visited Britain, Victricius of Rouen. The poet recalls how once the woods and shores of Belgica II were empty and unsafe because of the visits of "foreign barbarians and native brigands." But since Victricius began his missionary effort islands and woods are at peace and are thronged with churches and monasteries and the angelic choirs of the saints. It is not clear that he converted any of the Saxon sea-raiders; but it is clear that his aims did not differ from those of Niceta. It was part of his purpose to win over to a peaceful way of life both the barbarians from outside the frontier and the oppressed classes within it. But in the end, his Christian communities appear to have been wiped out in the great invasion of the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves in 406.[30]

We have already mentioned queen Fritigil of the Marcomanni (p. 6). In his letter to her St. Ambrose not only discussed the faith but also urged her, according to his biographer, "to persuade her husband to keep peace with the Romans. When the woman received the letter she persuaded her husband to entrust himself and his people to the Romans," i.e. they entered the provinces by agreement with the Roman authorities and settled there as Federates.[31] In fact, so able a statesman as Ambrose did not fail to regard peace with the Roman authorities as not the least of the benefits which would result from the acceptance of the Christian faith by a Germanic people.

Also contemporary with Niceta was a certain Amantius of Aquileia, whom we know only from the inscription on his sarcophagus, which was found in 1771 at Beligna near Aquileia. Amantius left his native city and travelled far off to a people who were led by two chieftains. He laboured among them and among the native Roman population for twenty years (either 378–98 or 393–413) as bishop of Jovia on the road from Poetovio to Mursa. That it was he who converted the two chieftains from paganism to orthodox Christianity is not explicitly stated but may well be the case.[32] At any rate, the barbarian people thought Amantius worthy to partake of the Holy Sacrament in company

[30]Paulinus, *Ep.*, xviii. 4, discussed by E. de Moreau, "St. Victrice de Rouen," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, v (1926), 71–9, cf. E. Vacandard, *Saint Victrice, évêque de Rouen*,[2] Paris 1903, 122 ff., P. Grosjean, "Notes d'hagiographie celtique," *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxiii (1945), 94–9.

[31]Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, xxxvi.

[32]*CIL.* v. 1623 = O. Fiebiger, *Inschriftensammlung zur Gesch. d. Ostgermanen: Neue Folge*, Vienna 1939, 25, No. 34. That the people in question were the Ostrogoths of Alatheus and Saphrax is suggested by R. Egger, "Historisch-epigraphische Studien in Venezien," *Jahreshefte d. österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, xxi-xxii (1922–4), Beiblatt 309–44, at 332 f., and his opinion is shared by Fiebiger, loc. cit., but seems improbable: see L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. deutschen Stämme: die Ostgermanen*, Munich 1934, 261. In addition to two chiefs (*geminis ducibus*) two peoples (*binis populis*) are also mentioned; and Egger, art. cit. 339, is puzzled as to the identity of the second people. But since they are living deep in the Empire we require some reference to the native inhabitants, and I suggest that the Romans of the locality are themselves meant. If that is right, the *plebs aliena* (a phrase which does not suggest two barbarian peoples) had the dual command which is so widespread in the early Germanic communities. On Amantius see also J. Palanque, *St. Ambroise et l'empire romain*, Paris 1933, 82 n. 16.

with their two chiefs and also "to guide them with his counsel."[33] Now if we do not know all the ways in which Amantius used his general ascendency over the chiefs, we can be fairly sure of one: it is hardly credible that he would have failed to "guide them" away from any move that might have damaged Roman peace and property. The high influence of Amantius with the two leaders was some guarantee, however frail, that local life and property would be spared the full fury of the invaders.

If we failed to find much evidence for Roman missionary activity beyond the frontier, we can at any rate be sure that, once the barbarians had crossed the frontier, there were not wanting churchmen who were prepared to go among them (apparently on their own initiative) and win them for the Gospel. But these seem to have been purely local efforts, and they do not represent any general policy on the part of the Church. Moreover, it is curious that all our evidence relates to a short period before and after A.D. 400. Whether this is coincidence we do not know: there may have been other local priests who won successes among the barbarians without finding any Paulinus to celebrate their work. But even when we make all allowance for gaps in our information, it can hardly be thought that evangelistic work was general in every region where pagan barbarians settled down. Again, Orosius says that a barbarian people who had become Christian lived in obedience to the Roman clergy whom they admitted to their society, and accordingly they treated the Roman population, in whose midst they had settled, not as subjects but as brother Christians, and refrained from oppressing and plundering them.[34] Orosius undoubtedly felt that the conversion of a barbarian people to Christianity was something of an insurance against damage to person and property. We have seen that some at least of those who went out among the barbarians, in addition to their spiritual reasons for working for the conversion, were not unaware of the political implications of their undertaking. But the threat to society came not only from the invaders but also from the masses of uprooted and propertyless people who could be found in every province at the end of the fourth century. Now it is not said that the Romans among whom Amantius worked were brigands; but certainly Niceta and Victricius directed their efforts at the local outlaws as well as at the foreign invaders. What is curious is that the Roman government drew no conclusions from the success of the missionaries.

III

Although the results at which we have so far arrived are largely negative, the fact remains that several of the great Germanic peoples were converted to Arianism before the Western Empire disappeared in 476. What is known about the conversion of each of them?[35]

[33]Lines 3–4 of the inscription: "dignus ita geminis ducibus consortia sacra participare fidei, consilio regere."

[34]Orosius vii. 32. 13. Cf. Origen, *C. Cels.*, viii. 68.

[35]For similar reviews see Zeiller, op. cit., 534–42, K. D. Schmidt, *Die Bekehrung der Germanen zum Christentum*, Göttingen 1939, *passim*.

We have already mentioned the Marcomanni. The incident of Fritigil leaves little room for doubt that the Marcomanni, apart from Fritigil's tribe, were pagan at the end of the fourth century; and the people later known as the Bavarians, of whom the Marcomanni became a part, were pagan long after the close of our period. The Heruls only became Christian when they entered the Roman Empire and Justinian gave them land around Singidunum (Belgrade) somewhat after 535.[36] The Lombards, too, were not converted in our period. According to a tradition preserved by themselves—and although we know it only from a late source, its truth cannot reasonably be doubted—they were won over to Christianity by Rugian missionaries during the years 488–505, when they had occupied the lands of the Rugi in Lower Austria.[37] The conversion of the Franks, Alamanni, Frisians, and Saxons also does not concern us. These peoples did not enter the provinces *en masse* while the Western Empire was in being (though the first two encroached upon it), and they were not converted until after 476. In fact, we may conclude that with one exception (the Rugi: *v infra*) the peoples who did not enter the Roman Empire before 476 did not become Christian before that date.

The question now arises, did any of the peoples who entered the provinces before 476 become Christian before crossing the frontier? It has been argued elsewhere that the conversion of the Visigoths must be dated to the period 382–95, when they were settled as Federates in Moesia.[38] Although we know something about certain Catholic missionaries who tried in vain to convert them, there is unfortunately no hint in our sources at the identity of the Arian missionaries who successfully won them over in 382–95; but it is natural to suppose that they were not Romans but Gothic disciples of Ulfila who went among them with the Gothic Bible in their hands. At any rate, after they had settled on Roman soil, the considered and characteristic attitude of Roman Arians towards them is probably suggested by a passage in the Arian commentary on Matthew's Gospel known as the *Opus Imperfectum*. In this work, which may have been composed in the first half of the fifth century, the author has a word to say about his barbarian fellow-heretics. "The barbarian nations," he writes, "are in the habit of giving their sons names which recall the havoc caused by wild beasts or scavenging birds: they think it glorious to have such sons, suitable for war and raging for blood." These words would scarcely have rung with a very welcome sound in the ears of men who had been brought up to reverence Ulfila, the Little Wolf. Although the author of the *Opus* admits that God is prepared to call barbarians as well as

[36]Procopius *BG* vi. 14. 33 ff.

[37] *Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani*, ii (*MGH. SS. rer. Langob.*, 8), with Schmidt, op. cit. 392–5. Whether they were Catholic before they became Arian is a question which does not concern us. The protagonist of the priority of Catholicism among them is C. Blasel, "Der Übertritt der Langobarden zum Christentum," *Archiv f. katholisches Kirchenrecht*, lxxxiii (1903), 577–619, cf. Zeiller, op. cit. 571 ff., who believes that they were introduced to Christianity by the remnants of Fritigil's Marcomanni.

[38] *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vii (1956), 1–11.

civilized men, he castigates priests who propagate the word of God among "unlearned, undisciplined, and barbarian peoples, who neither seek nor hear it with judgement and who have the name of Christians but the manners of pagans."[39] If this was the general attitude of Roman Arians towards the barbarians it can hardly be doubted that the conversion was the work of Gothic missionaries.

The date of the conversion of the Vandals is disputed. Recent enquirers have tended to believe that they were converted by Visigothic missionaries towards the end of the fourth century when they were living in the Körös-Mures region north of the lower Danube.[40] But the theory may be doubted. Jordanes tells us that the Visigoths sent out missionaries to the Ostrogoths and the Gepids.[41] He does not mention the Vandals. But why should he specify the two Visigothic missions which were not successful in the fourth century, while omitting to mention the only one which (on this theory) was a success? It was certainly not Jordanes' purpose to minimize the achievements of the Goths. Moreover, if we accept the date of the conversion of the Visigoths themselves as 382–95 it should be noted that Courtois has shown reason for thinking that *c.* 392 the Vandals had begun their long journey towards the West. The Visigoths had been living south of the Danube since 376 and so were no longer in direct contact with the Vandals. Are we to suppose, then, that at the very moment when they were beginning to win a decisive success among their own people and when all their efforts were needed at home, the Visigothic Christians sent preachers away to the north, beyond the Roman frontier, through the dominions of the Huns, where travel was at precisely this date exceedingly difficult?[42] And are we to suppose further that these missionaries converted the Vandals almost overnight—when they were, so to speak, in the very act of packing their bags? It seems a hazardous supposition. It is supported by no evidence, and some may find it safer to accept the alternative theory and to believe that when the Vandals crossed the Rhine on 31 December, 405, they were still a pagan people. This would account for the fact that some Romans who joined them in Gaul lapsed from Christianity and reverted to paganism.[43] But what seems decisive is that Orosius appears to have regarded the conversion of the Vandals as a very recent event when he was writing in 417.[44] The conversion, he seems to imply, had taken place in

[39] *Opus Imperfectum* Homily i (Migne, *P.G.*, lvi. 626), xxxv (*ibid.*, 824, cf. 864).

[40] So Schmidt, op. cit. 351 f., followed by L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Wandalen*,[2] Munich 1942, 184. So, too, K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, ii, 1, Heidelberg 1937, 75, H. Giesecke, *Die Ostgermanen und der Arianismus*, Leipzig and Berlin 1939, 167 f., M. Jahn *apud* H. Reinerth, *Vorgeschichte d. deutschen Stämme*, Leipzig and Berlin 1940, iii. 1022, C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 35 f. *Contra*, Zeiller, op. cit. 538.

[41] Jordanes, *Get.*, xxv. 133.

[42] Sozomen, vii. 26. 6 ff.

[43] Orientius, *Common.*, ii. 313 ff. For a later stage of the Vandal invasion see Quodvultdeus, *de Tempore Barbarico*, iii-iv, ed. G. Morin, *S. Aur. Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones Inediti*, Campoduni et Monaci 1917, 202 f. Similar lapses had taken place when the pagan Goths and Boradi invaded Pontus in the third century.

[44] Orosius, vii. 41. 7 f. It is not clear to me why Courtois, op. cit. 35 n. 7, takes this passage to refer to the Silings alone.

Spain, i.e. in the years 409–17. The safest conclusion then would be to reject the theory of a conversion in the wilds of Hungary at a time when the Visigoths themselves were barely Christian.

The Sueves who travelled to Spain in company with the Vandals and founded a kingdom in the north-west of the peninsula were still ruled by a pagan named Rechila who died in 448; but Rechila's son Rechiarius (448–56), who succeeded him in spite of secret opposition, was a Catholic.[45] There is some reason to suppose, however, that he was a convert and had not been born a Catholic.[46] It has not been doubted, I think, that the conversion of the Sueves took place when they were already settled in Spain.

The Burgundians were still pagan in 370, and Ammianus gives no indication that the pagan priesthood and the pagan practice which he describes had disappeared *c.* 395 when he was writing his History.[47] The common belief is that they were still pagan when they entered Gaul in 406: it is difficult to see how or why missionaries would have made their way through the lands of the Alamanni and other pagan peoples in southern Germany in order to single out the Burgundians for special attention.[48] At the end of the fifth century they were so warmly attached to their Arianism that they must have been Arian for at least a generation by then;[49] and it is noteworthy that the family traditions of King Gundobad (*c.* 480–516) were Arian.[50] In fact, the author of the *Gallic Chronicle* suggests that the major Germanic peoples settled in Gaul were all of them Arian by 451, and in this he is supported by Gregory of Tours.[51] (The notorious statement of Orosius that by 417 the Burgundians had been converted not to Arianism but to Catholicism is generally discounted and may be dismissed).[52] There can be little doubt, then, that the conversion must be dated between the years 406 and 451, and the analogous case of the

[45]Hydatius, *Chron. Min.*, ii. 25.

[46]*Ibid.*, ii. 301 "Recciarius . . . catholicus factus."

[47]Amm. Marc., xxviii. 5. 14.

[48]Cf. A. Coville, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du V^me^ siècle au IX^me^ siècle*, Paris 1928, 150 f., A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Leipzig 1922, i. 93. An exception is K. D. Schmidt, op. cit. i. 410, who believes that towards the end of the fourth century (presumably after 370) Visigothic missionaries came up the Danube (from Moesia?) to the upper Main valley and converted them before they entered Gaul. To me this seems very improbable. That the Burgundians were converted during the period of the kingdom of Worms is also the view of Ihm, P.-W., iii. 1064, D. Bohnsack *apud* Reinerth, op. cit. iii. 1140.

[49]Greg. Tur. *HF.*, ii. 34.

[50]Alcimus Avitus, *Ep.*, vi (p. 34. 33 f., ed. Peiper): there is every reason to believe him, cf. K. D. Schmidt, op. cit. 412.

[51]*Chronica Minora*, i. 662, Greg. Tur. *HF.*, ii. 9 (p. 58. 5).

[52]Orosius, vii. 32. 13, whose story was long ago doubted by C. Binding, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, Leipzig 1868, i. 40 f. See esp. H. von Schubert, "Die Anfänge des Christentums bei den Burgunden," *Sitzungsberichte d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissens.: phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1911, iii, to whose arguments little of value is added by G. Köhler, "Die Bekehrung der Burgunden zum Christentum," *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, lvii (1938), 227–43, or by K. D. Schmidt, op. cit. 404–11. A long but wholly unconvincing attempt to uphold Orosius is made by Coville, op. cit. 139–52, cf. Zeiller, op. cit. 580. An intermediate position seems to be taken up by M. Burckhardt, *Die Briefsammlung des Bischof Avitus von Vienne*, Berlin 1938, 25 n. 1.

Visigoths suggests a narrowing of these limits. We might suppose that just as the Visigoths were converted to Arianism when settled as Federates in Moesia between 382 and 395, so the Burgundians were converted when settled as Federates in Germania Prima between 412 and 436. This dating would help to explain why a story arrived at Constantinople which, highly coloured though it had become on its journey, was designed to explain why the eastern Burgundians had seen fit to become Christian about the year 430.[53] These Burgundians had remained east of the Rhine when the bulk of the people had crossed into Gaul in 406; and although we do not know what were the relations between the two groups of Burgundians there is at least a presumption that if the eastern Burgundians were converted *c.* 430 their companions in Gaul were converted at about the same time.

Now if this were all, we could conclude with some assurance that before the year 476 none of the great Germanic peoples living outside the frontier was Christian. There were individuals and groups of persons who had been converted, but the peoples as a whole were all of them pagan. Unfortunately, little information has survived about three great peoples who had been absorbed into Attila's empire towards the close of the fourth century and so were largely withdrawn from the sight of Roman authors. These peoples are the Ostrogoths, the Gepids, and the Rugi.

There were Catholic communities among the Ostrogoths in the Crimea *c.* 400.[54] But the bulk of the Ostrogoths were still pagan in 406 when human sacrifices were performed in the army of Radagaisus which invaded Italy in that year.[55] Now Jordanes says, apparently referring to the fourth century, that Visigothic Arian missionaries went out among the Ostrogoths.[56] There is no reason to doubt him; but he does not claim that they won any significant successes. It is also true that many Christian Goths lived in Constantinople in the first half of the fifth century under the leadership of Gainas, Plinthas, Ardaburius, and others; but it is difficult to envisage circumstances in which Gothic missionaries from Constantinople or from Ulfila's old settlement at Nicopolis could have worked among those Ostrogoths who had been overrun by the Huns *c.* 370 and who lived in great hardship under the oppressive rule

[53]Socrates, vii. 30. 3, cf. *Chronica Minora*, II, 491. The story does not specify whether these Burgundians became Catholic or Arian. There is no reason to reject the general truth of the tale: E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, Oxford 1948, 66 f.

[54]John Chrysostom, *Ep.*, xiv, ccvi, who himself tried to counteract the Arianism of the Goths in Constantinople by setting aside for them a church to be used for Catholic services by the Catholic Goths there. He appointed presbyters and deacons who knew the Gothic language. One or two sermons still exist which John himself preached to them in 399: Theodoret, *HE.*, v. 30, John, *Homilia habita postquam Gothus*, etc. (Migne, P. G., lxiii. 499–510), with P. Batiffol, "De quelques homélies de S. Jean Chrysostome et de la version gothique des écritures," *Revue biblique*, viii (1899), 566–72. But there is no evidence that he sent missionaries to win over the pagan Germans as he did to win over the Huns: Theodoret, *HE.*, v. 31.

[55]Orosius, vii. 37. 4 ff.

[56]Loc. cit. in n. 41 above.

of the nomads until 455. Unauthorized travellers, even bishops, were distinctly unwelcome in the Hun empire and if discovered would have been put to death out of hand.[57] It would be absurd, of course, to suppose that these conditions would have made a conversion impossible. But is it not more likely that the Ostrogoths were converted when they were living in the Roman province of Pannonia in 456–72, where access to them would have been unimpeded?[58] As for the identity of those who converted them, one or two pieces of evidence suggest that these were Goths from Constantinople (or Nicopolis). The extant fragment of the Gothic Calendar, in the form in which we have it, is an Ostrogothic document and was written in the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy in the period 493–553. But originally it had been a Visigothic document: it was drawn up in its earliest form towards the end of the fourth century when the Visigoths lived south of the lower Danube.[59] The Calendar, however, was not handed on directly by the Visigoths to those Ostrogoths who later settled in Italy. There is one entry in the Calendar, as we have it and as the Ostrogoths in Italy had it, which was only added to the original text some years after the Visigoths had marched away from the Balkans to the West. The Goths in Constantinople, as is well known, had been warmly engaged in the Psathyrian dispute at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries; and they were not reconciled to their adversaries until 419.[60] After the reconciliation these Goths as a gesture to their opponents allotted a festival in their Calendar to the opposing leader, Dorotheus of Antioch, although he had died a natural and not a martyr's death in 407 at the unusual age of 119.[61] But in 419 the Visigoths were already settled in their kingdom of Toulouse and perhaps had not even heard of these events— at any rate, it can hardly be supposed that they would have included so far-distant a figure as Dorotheus in their Calendar, especially as they themselves are not known to have been involved in the Psathyrian controversy. The Calendar, therefore, in its present form derives from Constantinople or Nicopolis and was handed on to the bulk of the Ostrogoths, when they became Christian, not by the Visigoths in Gaul but by the Goths living in or near the Eastern capital. Secondly, it has been shown that the Gothic text of the Gospels of Luke and Mark as preserved in the Codex Argenteus is a much revised and Latinized version in which the original renderings of Ulfila have been in many places altered by Visigothic scholars in Gaul.[62] On the other hand, the text of Matthew and John is in a purer and more Ulfilian style and had evidently escaped

[57]Sozomen, vii. 26. 6 ff., Priscus of Panium, frag. 8, p. 320.

[58]Cf. Zeiller, op. cit. 536 f., a judicious summary of the probabilities.

[59]This has been established by H. Achelis, "Der älteste deutsche Kalender," *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* i (1900), 308–35, at 314 ff., 322 f., R. Loewe, "Der gotische Kalender," *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, lix (1922), 245–90, at 274 ff., 278 ff., 283.

[60]Socrates, v. 23, Sozomen, vii. 17. 9 ff., Suidas, s. v. Ἀρειανοί.

[61]See the Calendar at 6 November, and cf. H. Delehaye, art. cit. 277, Loewe, art. cit. 271 f.

[62]Their activities are referred to by Salvian, v. 5 ff.

the attentions of the Visigothic scholars.[63] Now when the Ostrogoths entered Italy in 489 and came again into close contact with the Visigoths for the first time since 376, the revision of Ulfila's text by Visigothic scholars must already have reached an advanced stage (for they are referred to by Salvian in 440). How then did the Ostrogoths come to possess so pure a text of Matthew's Gospel as the Codex Argenteus shows them to have had? They cannot have received it from the Visigoths of Toulouse, for they can hardly be thought to have waited until 489 before receiving a text of Ulfila at all; and if they had received it from the Visigoths in or after 489 it would not have been so pure and Ulfilian as the Argenteus shows it to have been. The only possibility would seem to be that the pure text was that which had been in the hands of the Goths at Constantinople throughout the fifth century since the departure of Alaric for the West in 401. The Goths of the Eastern capital, it seems, had not tampered with Ulfila's work on anything like the scale of the Visigoths at Toulouse.[64] But if it is agreed that the Ostrogoths on their conversion received both their New Testament and their Church Calendar from the Goths at Constantinople, it can hardly be denied that the latter had played a decisive part in their conversion. There is some reason, in fact, to think that Gothic missionaries won the Ostrogoths to the new faith, whereas there is no reason to think that Roman missionaries concerned themselves with them at all.

In the fourth century the Gepids lived in the Carpathian mountains north of the Visigoths in Transylvania. Visigothic missionaries had gone among them, as among the Ostrogoths, in the fourth century; but although they may have made a few converts, no claim is made that they were any more successful than they were among the Ostrogoths.[65] And in fact the Gepids were still pagan when Salvian mentioned them in 440–1: indeed, a phrase which Salvian uses of them may perhaps suggest that human sacrifice was still known among them in his day.[66] After the collapse of the Hun empire in 455 they were still living east of the Tisza and received annual subsidies from the East Roman government.[67] Later still, in 472, they occupied land on both sides of the Danube around Singidunum and Sirmium. It is only in the sixth century that they are reported as being Arians.[68] Now if they were converted when still under the rule of the Huns their conversion must be dated to the period 441–55. But of all times when the conversion of a people subject to the Huns may have been possible, this surely is the most improbable. In 441–3 and again in 447 Attila carried out his two great attacks on the Eastern Empire. After 447

[63]G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels*, Oxford 1926, 160 f., 243.

[64]See idem, *The Gothic Version of the Epistles*, Oxford 1939, 261–4, from whom I differ on some points. How has it come about that a Visigothic text of Luke and Mark was included in the Codex Argenteus?

[65]Jordanes, *Get.*, loc. cit.

[66]Salvian, iv. 67, cf. 82 "Gipidarum inhumanissimi ritus."

[67]Jordanes, *Get.*, l. 264.

[68]Procopius, *BV.*, iii. 2. 5 f., *BG.*, vii. 34. 24, Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae* p. 176. 5, ed. E. Schwartz.

there was mounting tension on the lower Danube frontier. In 451 Attila turned abruptly against the West and invaded Gaul. In 452 he was in Italy. In 453 he died, and wars broke out between his sons, and in 455 the great Hun empire was overthrown by the rebellion of their subjects, led by the Gepids. In all their campaigns the Huns brought with them the warriors of their subject peoples, partly so as to strengthen their own manpower and partly because it would have been dangerous to leave them behind when the Hun warriors themselves were far away. Can we reasonably suppose that in these conditions Christian missionaries were able to convert the Gepids under Attila's very eyes? Is it not easier to believe that missionaries came peacefully up the Danube to Sirmium and Singidunum and converted the Gepids in and after 472?

Finally, the Rugi in Lower Austria north of the Danube were Arian before the death of St. Severinus in 482; and here we have a clear case of a Christian Germanic people living outside the Roman frontier. It is true that, although their headquarters were north of the Danube, the Rugi controlled a considerable area of Roman territory south of the river, had stationed garrisons in it, and exacted a tribute from it. But that hardly alters the case: they were a Germanic people who had been converted to Christianity while living outside the frontier in our period. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the Rugi were converted as a result of Roman or Gothic missionary activity outside the frontier. Some Rugi had not been absorbed into Attila's empire but had settled in the Roman provinces. We catch a glimpse of them in the period 434–41, when they rebelled and seized Noviodunum on the lower Danube —evidently their settlement lay in that region.[69] Here it would have been easy for the Goths at Nicopolis or Constantinople to make contact with them and instruct them in the Arian faith. The rest of the Rugi, when they freed themselves from the rule of the Huns, will have followed the example of this section of the people.[70] This, of course, is no more than a hypothesis: there is no evidence of any kind for the conversion of the Rugi. But perhaps it accounts for the conversion more simply than can otherwise be done, and it suggests that there is no compelling reason to posit the existence of a Gothic mission in Attila's empire.

IV

However we may account for the conversion of the various Germanic peoples, we have no evidence for supposing that Roman missionaries played any substantial part in the process. True, we know the names of several Catholic bishops who worked among the invaders once they had crossed the frontier. But the Germans were not won to Catholicism in this period, and the work of

[69]Priscus of Panium, frag. 1 *a*, with Thompson, op. cit. 217 f.

[70]Rappaport, P.-W. 1 A. 1222, assumes that the Rugi became Christian after the fall of the Huns' empire in 455.

these bishops was a failure. It has sometimes been thought that the Burgundians were converted by Roman Arians of the Rhineland; but until some evidence is produced for the existence of a community of Roman Arians on the Rhine in the first half of the fifth century—and evidently a flourishing and vigorous community—we may consider it safer to suppose that Visigothic missionaries came up from Toulouse after the foundation of the kingdom there in 418. On the other hand, the claims which have sometimes been made for a vast and successful Gothic mission outside the Roman frontier and within the territories of Attila may well be exaggerated:[71] the phenomena which this alleged mission is assumed to explain can in fact be accounted for otherwise. That our evidence is defective is only too apparent; but the conversion of the Ostrogoths and the Gepids may most easily be explained if we date it to a time when these peoples were settled inside or on the Roman frontiers and when Gothic missionaries could work among them in comparative peace. The achievement of the Gothic mission was on any showing a very considerable one,[72] but there is no convincing evidence that it was conducted under the eyes of the Huns. The final conclusion which we may draw is that until the year 476, when the Western Empire ceased to exist as a political entity, none of the great Germanic peoples with the single exception of the Rugi was converted to Christianity while still living outside the Roman frontier. The central issue concerns the subjects of the Huns. There can be no mathematical proof of any opinion; and we can only say that, given what we know of the fierce rule of the nomads, our conclusion is not improbable and that it conflicts with nothing in the scanty evidence. Moreover, even if we move our lower limit from 476 to, say, the death of Justinian in 565, we shall find only one more exceptional case of a people who, like the Rugi, were converted to Christianity while living in territory which had not once been Roman. This exception is the Lombards (p. 13 above), who curiously enough were converted in Lower Austria, where the Rugi had lived before them, and were won over by Rugian missionaries. Again, it is certain that none of the great Germanic peoples who entered the Roman provinces in the fourth and fifth centuries remained pagan for more than a generation after they crossed the frontier. No people, in fact, is known to have delayed its conversion longer than the Sueves who entered Gaul in 406 and were first ruled by a Christian forty-two years later—and even the Sueves in some cases were turning to Christianity as early as 417.[73] It would seem to follow that the act of crossing the Imperial frontiers and settling down as landlords or the like on Roman soil necessarily and inevitably entailed the abandonment of paganism and conversion to the Roman religion. Neither phenomenon is found except in company with the other; and if our arguments are valid the cases are numerous enough to justify

[71]See e.g. K. D. Schmidt, op. cit. 419 ff.

[72]It is confirmed [by the existence of a Greek element in ecclesiastical German: see Schulze, op. cit. 526 f.

[73]Orosius, vii. 41. 8.

us in ruling out coincidence as the explanation. That is to say, the religious history of the Germans in the Roman period cannot be divorced from their political history. Their transference from the wilds of *barbaria* into the social relationships of *Romania* brought about a marked and comparatively sudden transformation in their religion. The move into a new economic and social world was necessarily followed by a move into a new spiritual world.

E. A. Thompson

DRAUMA-JÓNS SAGA

The present edition[1] of *Drauma-Jóns Saga* attempts only to give an accurate text together with some indication of the problems of textual relationship involved. The continued popularity of this moral tale from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century is indicated by the fact that versions of it are extant in forty-five manuscripts, preserved in the following collections:

(1) In the Arnamagnean Collection in the University Library, Copenhagen: AM MS. 397 fol., AM 4° MSS. 335, 510, 567 III, 575 b and 657, AM MS. 123 8° and Rask MSS. 32 and 35.

(2) In the Royal Library, Copenhagen: Kall. MS. 614 4°.

(3) In the Royal Library, Stockholm: Papp. fol. MSS. 1 and 47, Papp. 4° MSS. 15 and 22.

(4) In the National Library, Reykjavík: LBS 4° MSS. 679, 715, 878, 998, 1492, 1626, 1637, 1656, 2152 and 2319, LBS 8° MSS. 479, 1137, 1726, 1783, 2041, 2232 and 2319, JS fol. MSS. 27 and 29, JS 4° MSS. 87 and 635, JS MS. 47 8°, IB 4° MSS. 210 and 277, IB 8° MSS. 162, 184 and 224 and IBR 8° MSS. 41 and 42.

(5) In the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum: Additional MSS. 4860 and 24, 969.

Of these manuscripts AM 335 4°, the fragment AM 567 4° and the almost complete AM 657 4° are roughly contemporary, dating from *c.* 1400.[2] AM 510 4° dates from the end of the fifteenth century, AM 123 8° from *c.* 1600, Stockholm Papp. fol. 1 from the first half of the seventeenth century, and AM 575 b 4°, Stockholm Papp. fol. 47, Papp. 4° 15 and 22, LBS 715 4° and JS 27 fol. from the second half of the seventeenth century. The other manuscripts are all late and from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A definitive edition of *Drauma-Jóns Saga* would include, in addition to a representative of the very earliest texts, the full text of Stockholm Papp. fol. 1 and possibly also that of AM 510 4°. This is beyond the scope of the present work, which prints only a single early text, examines in some detail the variant readings of the other five pre-1650 manuscripts, and then refers to some of the later texts for additional evidence on the problems of textual relationship.

THE THREE EARLY MANUSCRIPTS

A (= AM 335 4°) "C. 1400." A vellum manuscript of 35 leaves, 22 × 14·5 cm., with an original binding of sealskin. *Drauma-Jóns Saga* occupies 31^{v}–35^{v}

[1]H. Gering's edition in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, XXVI, (1894), 289–309, is unsatisfactory. It is based on a reading of four only of the extant manuscripts and gives a normalized text which is not free from misreadings. As examples of Gering's misreadings can be quoted *hús-* for *hans* 9, *vestr* for *vestan* 9, *„flugt"* for *flygt* 10 and *flutti* for *flytti* 34.

[2]All manuscript dates are taken from the catalogues of the collections.

MS. AM. 335 4°, fo. 33r, The Arnamagnean Collection, Copenhagen.

line 21. The written space measures 16·5 × 10·5 cm. and has 30 lines to the page. The text is written in a single hand, probably the same as that in which the preceding *Gibbons Saga* was completed. After *Drauma-Jóns Saga* the same hand continues, without leaving any space, with a text, untitled in the manuscript, but named in a nineteenth century hand on a note stuck into the front of the book *Af romverska dáranum.* The leaves are numbered in the same hand in the upper outer corner of the recto side.

The present condition of this manuscript is poor. The top border of 32 is torn away, and words on the first line of each side have been destroyed. Much of the outer edge of 34 has been roughly cut and torn away, but this does not affect the text, though a tear from this border across the page breaks into line 22 on 34^{r} and line 21 on 34^{v}. Most pages are creased, stained or faded, and some of the text can only clearly be read under ultra-violet light. So, for example, on 31^{v} lines 5–13 and 36, on 32^{r} lines 1–11, on 32^{v} lines 2, 17 and 36, on 33^{r} lines 30–36, and large parts of 33^{v} and 34^{r} are affected by fading or staining of the manuscript, while on 31^{v} a few words on lines 24 and 25 are difficult to read because of creasing of the vellum.

B (= AM 657 4º) "14. århs 2den halvdel." A vellum manuscript of 100 leaves, 21 × 16 cm. The leaves are numbered twice, an old numbering in black ink in the upper outer corner of the recto side, and a later one in pencil in the centre of the top margin of the recto side. The foliations differ, the later one being used in this edition. *Drauma-Jóns Saga* occupies 58^{v} line 10–62^{v} line 33 (leaves 28–32 in the old numbering), and is written in a single hand throughout. It occupies a written area of 15·5 × 12 cm. and has 33 lines to the page. After folio 62 two pages are missing from the middle of a gathering, and the first of these must have contained the end of the saga. The last line of 62^{v} ends *er gerdizst medr* and below this is written *vantar 2 blǫð* in a later hand. 63^{r} begins *Hákonar Þáttr Háreks Sonar* at the words *hond· Vigfus segir fliott.*

The manuscript is in fair condition. The lower inner margins of 58 and 59 are torn away towards the spine of the book, but the text is scarcely damaged. 60 is badly mutilated: a piece has been cut from the top border slightly affecting the top line on each side, the lower margin has been cut away towards the spine so that the last two lines on each side are damaged, and there are various cuts in the outer margin, though they do not affect the text. In addition, the line of a vertical fold runs down the centre of the text, and letters along its course on the verso side have become faded. Two similar horizontal fold lines affect lines 2–3 and 31–32 on the verso side. These folds do not seriously affect the recto side of the leaf. 62 has a similar series of vertical and horizontal lines on the recto side, though they look more like cuts into the surface of the vellum made with a dry point. The vertical cut does not affect the readability of the text, the upper horizontal one runs through line 1, the lower one through the lower margin. The lower half of 62^{r} has suffered some fading and in parts can only be read under ultra-violet light.

C (= AM 567 4° III) "15. århs beg." A collection of fragments of various early manuscripts, all of which, according to the old catalogue of the collection, contained *Fabulosæ Islandorum Historiæ*. Fragment III consists of two 4° vellum leaves, 20 × 14 cm. The left-hand leaf is a fragment of *Drauma-Jóns Saga*, the text beginning at *s[e]m þu ert vanr* 91 and ending at *lida sua dagar* 147. On a piece of paper stuck into the manuscript Arni Magnusson has written the title *ur Drauma Jons Sǫgu*. The manuscript is in very poor condition; the ink is so badly faded that very little of the text can be read without the aid of ultra-violet light, and there are a number of holes in the vellum which affect the text.

In view of the very close dating of these manuscripts and the fact that such dating cannot be exact, their texts will be treated as though they are roughly contemporary, and as though any one of them could theoretically be derived from any other. A comparison of the texts of the three manuscripts shows the following facts:

(i) BC sometimes agree as against A. So, for example:

	A	B	C
92	*beiggia*	*tueggia*	*tveggia*
92	*af verda*	*verda af*	*verda af*
95	*stefnt*	om.	om.
96	*gavm at*	*trunad*	*trunad*
103	*orda ockarra*	*tals okkars*	*tals ockars*
104	*onader*	*vnàad*	*vnad*
114	*vera*	*verda*	*verda*
115	*bondi*	add *segir hann*	add *segir hann*
117	*hliota*	*leida*	*leida*
118	*þetta*	add *firir*	add *firir*
123	*bera*	*fęra*	*færa*
125	*sinum*	add *ok ollu hỳske*	add *ok aullu hỳski sinu*

(ii) AC sometimes agree as against B. So, for example:

	B	A	C
92	*eigu*	*eign*	*eign*
93	*veitt*	*rett*	*riett*
100	*snua*	*huerfa*	*[huer]fa*
101	om.	*huat*	*huat*
103	*greint*	*greitt*	*greit*
103	*þat at*	*þuiat*	*þuiat*
104	add *hans*	*senndibodi*	*sendibodi*
105	add *segir smidr*	*egh*	*ek*
106	*þuilikr*	*slikr*	*slikr*
129	*Ridr*	*ferr*	*ferr*
140	*þerse*	*þenna*	*þenna*

(iii) AB sometimes agree as against C. So, for example:

	C	A	B
93	add *sagt*	*nv*	*nu*
93	*draumrinn var adr*	*adr var dravmrinn*	*aadr var draumrinn*
94	*af*	*vpp*	*vpp*
101	om.	*vill*	*vill*
105	om.	*at* (1)	*at*
105	om.	*se*	*se*
108–109	*nu var sagt*	*Jon gat*	*Jon gat*
110	*rauf*	*ryfr*	*rŷfr*
113	*aa sinn fund med allri virt*	*med allri virkt ok sæmd a iarllsins gard*	*med allre virkt ok sęmd a jarlsins gard*
124	*vmbergiss*	*vm huerfis*	*vmhuerfiss*

These facts imply that if any one manuscript is derived from either of the others, it must descend through a lost intermediate manuscript from which the third also derives. If, for example, B is derived from A, C also must be derived from A, BC being copies of an intermediate manuscript which contains their common variants from A. But there are objections to this. If the relationship between A and B is examined more closely, the following facts are seen:

(a) A reads (193–199):

"helldr ridr hann sialfr med sitt hoffolk ok fram kemr. Jarlinn syner sik gladan en hefer med sier hrædda samvizsku þuiat hann þikiz vita at keisarinn hefer a einn huern hatt mykit erenndi sidan hann sialfr reid. For þat fram med honum sem skrifat er at eingi hlvtr syker bradara manninn en ill mala efnni. Fruin syster keisarans verdr hiartaliga fegin hans kuamo. Sem þeir taka tal sin a milli magarner . . . ."

The equivalent B reading is:

"helldr ridr hann sealfr med sitt hof folk ok fram kemr a jarlsins gard· Vard fruin systir hans heartalega fegin hans kuamu· Enn jarl synir sik gladan ok hŷlr med ser hrędda samuitzsku· þuiat hann þikkizst vist uita at keisarinn hefir a einn huern haatt mikit erendi sidan sealfr hann reid· For þat her fram sem skipat er at engin lutr suikr braadarra maninn en ill maalefni· Sem þeir tala sin j milli maagarnir . . . ."

In one or other of the manuscripts the passage *Fruin-kuamo* has become displaced. Either reading makes sense, though in the A text the sentence in question seems a little out of context. If the B reading is assumed to be the original one, the A scribe must have jumped from *kemr a jarlsins gard* to *kuamu· Enn jarl*. If the original text had the words *kemr, jarlsins, kuamu, Enn,* and *jarl* abbreviated ($\overline{\text{km}}^{\text{r}}$, ·j·, $\overline{\text{km}}^{\text{u}}$, $\bar{\text{e}}$, ·j·), as might well be the case, such a jump in reading by a copying scribe would be quite likely, and the omitted passage might then be inserted at an appropriate place when the

mistake was discovered, the phrase *a jarlsins gard* being redundant and therefore omitted. If A is taken to represent the original reading, the B scribe must first be assumed to have inserted the phrase *a jarlsins gard* after *fram kemr*, to have jumped then to *mala efnni. Fruin syster*, and to have inserted the omitted phrase *Jarlinn-mala efnni* afterwards. It seems more likely that B represents the earlier reading here.

(b) A reads (76–77):

"en er þar kom hlvpv vpp j henni iij elldar af vt nordri ok geystvz . . . ."

The equivalent B reading is:

"enn er þar kom· lupu vpp i henne ·iij· elldar af vt nordri fullu nordri ok landuedri ok geỳstizst . . . ."

The dream related in the saga has already mentioned two groups of fires; the first, a single great fire on the outermost isle, *j landnordr* 72, the second, in the central of the three islands, *ij elldar j þeirri ey j landnordr ok vtnordr* 75. Logically we should expect the three fires on the third isle to be in the three directions mentioned by the B scribe. It could be argued that the B scribe has adapted an original reading *af vt nordri* to suit this more logical reading by adding the other two directions. In this case, however, the B scribe would be unlikely to make the error *landuedri* for *landnordri*, a copyist's error. *landnordri* was probably in the manuscript copied by the B scribe, and, though this could have been an intermediate manuscript derived from A, it seems more likely that here again is an error by the A scribe, jumping from the first *nordri* to the last, and so omitting the last two of the three directions. Again it seems likely that B represents more accurately than A the original text.

(c) A reads (32–34):

"tekr sina flygd ok ferr j veg. Honum var miog titt vm ferdina suo at naliga ferr hann bædi dag ok nott þuiat forvitni dravmsins flytti. Bar þat til einn morginn . . . ."

The equivalent B reading is:

"Tekr sina fỳlgd ok ferr j vegh· þuiat foruitni draumsins flutti hann· Berr þat sua til einn mergin . . . ."

Either the A text has introduced the passage *Honum-nott* or the writer of the B text has omitted it. If the passage in question had ended *nott ok dag* rather than *dag ok nott* (cf. *natt sem dag* AM 510 4°), it could be argued that the B scribe jumped from the word *veg* to the word *dag*, which would resemble it closely in the writing of many Old Norse scribes. In this case it seems likely that the A text represents the original reading.

(d) A reads *ok sa* 313 where B has the meaningless *visa*. B could conceivably be derived from a misreading of *oc sa*, but it is more likely that both A and B derive from an earlier *en sa* (cf. *enn sau* AM 510 4°, AM 123 8°), which the A scribe might recast as *ok sa* and the B scribe easily misread as *visa*. In this case it seems that neither represents the original reading.

Points (a) and (b) suggest that B is not derived from A, and points (c) and (d) that A is not derived from B. C therefore cannot be derived from either. The extant text of C is only some 700 words long, and it is difficult to adduce from it evidence for or against the suggestion that A and B are derived from a C text. It should be noted, however, that the catalogue dates C as later than A or B. Certainly it is evident that the immediate originals of A and B must have been written, not oral, versions of the story, since some of the readings above are obviously due to scribal errors. Moreover several of the readings found in only one of the texts can perhaps be explained as scribal errors. So, for example, the A reading *at* 18 is possibly a misreading of *aa* (cf. *a-* B, AM 123 8°, *ää* AM 510 4°), *kongsins* 301 (*keisarans* B) a wrong expansion of an abbreviated form *·k·*; the B readings *flutti* 34 (*flytti* A, AM 510 4°, AM 123 8°), *veitt* 93 (*rett* AC), *greint* 103 (*greitt* AC, the dot of the *-i-* misread as a line indicating a following nasal), *þat at* 103 (*þuiat* AC, AM 123 8°), *rettunum* 179 (*rettinvm* A, AM 510 4°, AM 123 8°, Stockholm Papp. fol. 1), *keisarinn* 189 (*keisarann* A, AM 123 8°, Stockholm Papp. fol. 1), *skipat* 196 (*skrifat* A, AM 510 4°, AM 123 8°) and *liott* 275 (*liost*, A, AM 510 4°, AM 123 8°) are perhaps also due to errors by the B scribe or his predecessor. In these cases readings unsupported by other manuscripts, or unusual readings such as *kongsins* and *keisarinn*, have been held to be the later forms, but there are other cases where it is impossible to say which of the variants may represent the original; so, for example, the dual forms *eign*, *eigu* 92, 148, *stadinn*, *stadnum* 177, *-sogn*, *-sogu* 231.

In the 93 significant cases where two manuscripts agree against the other there are 27 AB readings, 22 AC readings and 44 BC readings. BC have then considerably more readings in common than either of the other groupings. This could be caused either (a) by A, B and C descending from a common text and A differing from its source more than B or C, or (b) by BC descending through a lost intermediate text which, in its turn, derived from the original of A. Comparison of the three texts shows that, in addition to the usual variations of word order, tense and mood of verb, etc., there are certain stylistic variations which may be the work of a single "improver" or "corrector" of the text either of A or of BC. So A has several alliterative phrases not contained in the other texts (*haska ok hardenndum* 27, *giort ok greitt* 103, *mivkr ok maldiarfr* 142), and often uses phrases in which one word is re-used after a short interval where the other texts tend to vary the wording (*iardfolgit fée er hermenn hafa folgit* 87, *sidan þv ert radin j· ek veit þann stad at radinn er* 173–174, *til frelsis aftr leidder þess sem þeir voro adr fraleidder* 321–322). On the other hand B has an occasional alliterative phrase not in A (*samuitand ok sampýkt* 262), and A sometimes avoids repetition (*þv munt gera mer mein vid Heinrek jarl med ordum þinum ok geta* 102–103, where B reads *þu mant geta*). There is then no conclusive evidence that these stylistic variations are deliberate attempts at re-working the saga style, nor can any conclusion be drawn as to whether A or BC is the deviator from the original.

THE THREE LATER PRE-1650 TEXTS

Further light is thrown on the textual history of the saga by an examination of the other manuscripts written before 1650. *Drauma-Jóns Saga* is contained in the vellum manuscript AM 510 4° (= *D*) 88ᵛ line 28–91ᵛ line 25, "15. århs slutning", in the paper manuscript Stockholm Papp. fol. 1 (= *E*) 253ᵛ–256ᵛ line 28, "Förra hälften af 1600-talet", and in the vellum AM 123 8° (= *F*) 30–37ᵛ line 19, "C. 1600." Of these manuscripts, F, as will be shown later, is closely related to the A text. The texts of D and E on the other hand are less easily related to the versions already examined. Each differs considerably from the accepted text of the tale. D keeps closely to the sentence structure of the accepted text, but tends to vary from it in wording, and often adds or omits details, or re-words phrases. E is a re-telling of the story which keeps intact the order of events of the original, sometimes agrees with it in wording, but often re-words whole sentences and even sentence groups. The following extracts, the first from D, the second from E, give some idea of the quality of these two texts. The passages quoted are equivalent to Section 4 of the present text.

Sid*an* skilia þ*ei*r epte*r* þ*at* o*g* ge*ingur* þ*et*ta mal so *til* alla leid[1] s*em* nu u*ar* sagt· *og* Jon gat t*il*. Ke*mur* Asgaut*ur* fra*mm*· *og* s(eiger) d*r*aumin*n* j(alli) en*n* h*ann* red so at huo*r*gi b*ar* ord aa milli u*id* Jo*n*. Asg(autur) B(ondi) rauf þa t*ru*nad v*id*[2] Jon· *og* s(eiger) j(alli) þa[3] alla rædu þ*ei*rra Jo*ns*· Fylltizt þad*an* af Hei(n)r(ekur) j(all) m*y*killar vndran*ar* *og* byd*ur* Asg(auti) B(onda) at j apt*ur* reid[4] sin*ni* sk*al* h*ann* fin*n*a Jo*n* *og* bioda ho*num* m*ed* ast sin*ne* *og*[5] magt áa min*n* fund *og* seg ho*num* so at h*ans* litille ætt sk*al* ho*num* ue*r*a t*il* m*y*killa*r* up*p* reista*r*· Þ*et*ta e*r*indi be*r* Asg(autur) b(ondi) Jo*ne* apt*ur*. En*n* Jo*n* suara*r* t*il* e*r* þ*ei*r fin*n*azt· Nu e*r* so ko*m*it B(ondi) se*m* e*g* gat t*il*· at þin ord mu*n*di mi*er* at meine ko*m*a· þ*ui*at e*igi* mu*n* ætt min*n*i efling af leida af He(in)r(eki) j(alli) helld*ur* mu*n* e*g* mæta þ*eim* þu*n*ga þott e*g* fa*r*i at fade*r* min*n* *og* mode*r* mu*n*du e*igi* ord epte*r* senda· Nu þo[6] at e*g* u*i*ta þ*et*ta f*y*re*r*· mu*n* e*g* fa*r*a e*igi* at sid*ur*· þ*ui*at þ*at* e*r* sia þ*ess* e*r* ollu rædu*r*· En*n* nu *er* fyrst at s(eigia) f*r*a fe*r*dum Asg(autz) at b*r*att se*m* h*ann* ke*m*ur hei*m*· fe*r* h*ann* t*il* ey*a*rinn*ar* me*d* hu*s*kǫllu*m* sinu*m*· *og* fin*n*ur fe þ*ar* se*m* t*il* u*ar* uis*at* *og* j so mo*r*gu*m* stǫdu*m* *og* so m*y*kit u*ar* sama*n* ko*m*it at þ*at* nenti ei*n*gi m*adur* áa uag at færa· Uar þ*et*ta e*igi* at eins h*ans* gledi h*ans* r*ikis* allz u*m* be*r*gis se*m* d*r*aumu*r*inn spadi· E*r* so uti·

[1] *Inserted in the right-hand margin.* [2] *Inserted above the line.* [3] *Inserted in the left-hand margin.* [4] *Preceded by* R *partially erased.* [5] *Inserted above the line.* [6] *Originally* þott, *the last two letters partially erased.*

Og efter þui gieck þetta efn*ni* til sem Jon gat ad Asga(utur) fram*m* kiemur og seigir jarlli draum sin*n*. H*a*nn rædur drauminn og ber eigi ord aa milli um*m* þad sem*m* Jon hafdi radid. Asgautur rÿfur trunadin*n* og seigir jarlli trunad þ*ei*rra B(onda) og Jons. Hugur jallz filltist m*ed* mikillri reidi og undran*n* og bidur Asgaut aa sin*ne* aptur reid ad fin*n*a Jon og bioda ho*n*um

med allri uirding og sæm*m*d a̓a jarllzins gard og seigia suo ad h*a*ns litillre ætt munde uera *þad* til miklrar up*p* biggingar. Þetta erindi ber Äsgautur, en*n* Jon s(uarar) er *þei*r finnast, nu er suo[1] komid sem*m* eg sagdi þier B(ondi) ad þÿn ord mundu mier meina þui ei mun mÿn ætt efling fa af Hen:rik jalli helldur mun eg mæta *þei*m þunga þott eg fari ad fadir min*n* og modir giori e*i*gi ord efter mier. Þo eg uite þetta fÿrer mun eg fara eigi ad sÿdur þui *þad* er forsio þess er o̧llu rædur er mier geingur þetta·

III CAP(ITULUM)

Þei*rr*a þui er nu ad seigia ad þega⟨r⟩ B(ondi) kiemur heim fer h*a*nn til eigarinn*n*ar med huz ko̧llum*m* synum*m* og finnur h*a*nn fied med mo̧rgum hlutum*m* og j flestum*m* sto̧dum*m*·[2] og uar *þad* eigi *þad* einasta gledi helldur allz rÿkisin*n*s uti f*r*a um*m* huerfis sem draumurin*n* spadi·

[1] nu er suo nu er suo *ms.* [2] sto̧gum*m* *ms.*

An examination of D and E in their relationship to ABC shows the following facts:

(i) D sometimes agrees with A against BC. So, for example:

	D	A	BC
92	*beggia*	*beiggia*	*tueggia*
104	*onader*	*onader*	*vnäad*
114	*uera*	*vera*	*verda*
115	*B(ondi)*	*bondi*	add *segir hann*
116	*til*	*til*	om.
119	*at*	*at*	*þui*
134	*sig*	*sik*	add *sua*
139	*hann*	*hann*	om.

(ii) D agrees with C against AB. So, for example:

	D	C	AB
105	om.	om.	*at* (1)
106	om.	om.	*sem þv ert*
110	*rauf*	*rauf*	*ryfr*
113	*fund* in a different context	*fund*	*gard*
116	*minni*	*minni*	*min*
120	om.	om.	*bonda*
124	*um bergis*	*vmbergiss*	*vm huerfis*

(iii) There are a few cases, probably not significant, where D agrees with B against AC:

	D	B	AC
92	*eigu*	*eigu*	*eign*
100	*snua*	*snua*	*huerfa*
116	*mundi*	*mundi*	*mundu*
142	om.	om.	*æ*

These facts make it impossible to derive the D text directly from A, B or C. It is difficult to suggest any relationship between A, B, C and D which does not postulate a mixing of texts at an early stage in the transmission of the saga. So, for example, the D text could be a mixture of A and C texts, with perhaps some influence from B, or the mixing could have already taken place by the time that the A, B and C texts were copied. D contains none of the readings that have been considered above as scribal misreadings in A and B.

A similar circumstance is shown by an examination of the E text with reference to ABC. So:

(iv) E sometimes agrees with A against BC. So, for example:

	E	A	BC
92	*beggia*	*beiggia*	*tueggia*
114	*uera*	*vera*	*verda*
126	*seigir*	*seger*	add *sua*
134	*sig*	*sik*	add *sua*
137–138	*fyrir sialfann keisarann*	*firer sialfan keisarann*	*till sealfs keisarans*
139	*hann*	*hann*	om.

(v) E occasionally agrees with B against AC.

	E	B	AC
100	add *B(ondi)*	add *bondi*	*tala*
100	*snua*	*snua*	*huerfa*
101	om.	om.	*huat*
121	om.	om.	*þar*
139	*hann*	*hann*	*þat*

(vi) There are two cases, probably not significant, where E agrees with C against AB. These cases are *ei* CE: *eigi* AB 116, and *at* CE: *af* AB 135.

Examples from E are inevitably few since the E text differs so widely from other versions. The evidence does again, however, suggest a mixing of texts. If this mixing is scribal, caused by a copyist using two different manuscripts and incorporating parts of each into his own version, it is unlikely that D and E are the mixed texts. If D were a mixture of A and C (and perhaps B), it would take from A the reading *onader* 104, and from C the readings *rauf* 110, *fund* 113, *minni* 116, and *um bergis* 124. E takes in these cases the BC reading *onad*, and the AB readings *rÿfur*, *gard*, *mÿn*, *umm huerfis*. So if D and E are mixed texts they cannot be traced back to a common original which is a combination of two or more earlier texts. Instead we must postulate two scribes, those of D and E, independently producing different mixed texts. It is far more likely that the mixing has already occurred in one or more of the three earliest manuscripts.

The mixing of texts, however, is not necessarily scribal. There are other ways in which mixed texts could be produced:

(a) There might exist in early times a number of variations of wording, perhaps in oral versions of the saga. The texts A, B, C, D and E are then written forms of the tale incorporating different combinations of these variant wordings.

(b) If the saga continued to be told long after the earliest written versions were produced, a scribe might, even when copying from a particular written text, incorporate into his work variant readings taken from oral versions he was familiar with.

That the A scribe at any rate knew two different readings at certain points of his tale is suggested by the nature of some of the mistakes found in the A manuscript. So, for example, in the reading *at godum j godum* 38 the A scribe writes both possibilities, *at godum* at the end of one line and *j godum* at the beginning of the next (cf. *at godum* D, *j godum* BF). In the reading *hemoligs vinr e(da) trunadr madr* 130, he mixes genitival and nominatival constructions (cf. *heimuligs vins ok trunadar mannz* C, *heimolegr vin ok trunadar mann* B, *heimugligur vin og trunadar madur* F).

Again it occasionally happens that two manuscripts have completely different readings, and that a third combines these two readings together, implying that at certain points the third scribe knew two versions which he simply added together. So, for example:

108–109 *Jon gat* ABEF: *nu var sagt* C: *nu uar sagt· og Jon gat* D.
127 *mykill* AE: *skiotligr* B: *skiotliga mikill* C, *skiotligur mykill* D.
178 *borinn* A: *[s]ettr* B: *jnn borinn· og setur* D.
198 *taka tal* AF: *tala* BE: *taka malefne og tala* D.
206 *vandri samvizsku* AF: *illri naatturu* B: *jllum anda· og uondre samuizku* D: *jllri samuisku og uondrj natturu* E.

The way in which a text might be altered or "corrected" by a scribe can perhaps be illustrated by an examination of the version of *Drauma-Jóns Saga* given in manuscript AM 123 8° (= F). The text here is defective and begins at the top of 30^{r} with the words *-islig orcka til auinnings* 18. Leaves 11–29 contain *Sigrgarðs Saga Frækna*, the text of which ends abruptly at the bottom of 29^{v} with the words *enn spurdi huad hann*. Between 29 and 30 a number of leaves, probably four, containing the end of the one saga and the beginning of the other, have been lost. At some time the volume has been broken open between leaves 31 and 32, with the result that the verso of 31 and the recto of 32 are badly worn and faded. Leaves 33–37 are held in the binding by adhesive paper stuck along their inner edges on both sides, and parts of most lines are obscured by it.

Textually the F manuscript is very close to A, and has a number of readings common with it where BCDE have a common variant or readings which are very nearly the same. So, for example, F reads *stefntt* 95, *sem fyrr vijsar til* 122, *faudur synum huad talad var* 125–126, *til hallur* 142. F also has a large number of A readings where BCDE differ from A in various ways, or

where there is no C text available: so *komid godzi* 25, *sofi j enn ei kapella* 48, *rad fodur myns* 50, *vil ei spara mig til starfa* 50–51, *værer geinginn* 70, *alla uega vmm landid* 80–81. F also has the displaced sentence in the passage 193–199, and the simple reading *j vtnordur* 77, which have already been indicated as due to scribal miscopying at some time in the history of the A text. F does, however, differ from A in common with other manuscripts on several occasions: so F reads *friofgadiz* 19, *kaupa kostin fyrer sig* 26, *fatækur madur* 60, *elldingum* 78, *þetta fyrer* 118, *vmbergis* 124, *tijdindi morgum til hrygdar* 186–187. It seems, then, that either (a) F is a copy of A with some forms taken from other versions or (b) A and F are both copies of a manuscript which contained their common variants from BCDE, but that one or both have been affected by other versions.

Except for the omission of the phrase *at þu kynnizst milli manna* 64, F has none of the mistakes found in A. It reads *vankuædi* 23, *fylgd* 32, *flytti honum* 34, *j godum* 38, *eingi madur j Saxlandi kunne* 57, *Heinrek* 57, *heimugligur vin og trunadar madur* 130, *suo frægd* 135, *einkanligur* 141, *skammuinntt* 204, *biodandi* 211, *keis·* 231, *fyrer oss bar* 235, *seiger kei·* 249, *temprar* 266, *preyngtt* 285, *kender* 307, *leyster* 321. The possible misreading *at* 18 is not found in F, but the unusual use of *kongs* 301 rather than *keisarans* is. A significant reading is the F *ad ovilia þynum þu munt geta orda*. This is equivalent to the A reading *at vvilia þinum at þv munt gera mer mein vid Heinrek jarl med ordum þinum ok geta orda* 101–103. In B this passage reads *at vuilia þinum at þu mant gera mer mein vidr Heinrek jar[ll] med ordum þinum· þu mant geta tals*. The repetition of *þu mant* occurs also in CDE. The F reading is more likely to develop from the B type wording with the scribe's eye jumping from *þinum at þu mant gera* to *þinum· þu mant geta* than from the A reading. The probability, then, is that F is not derived from A, but derives with it from an earlier manuscript which has not survived. In this case A or F or both have had certain readings altered to conform with those of other manuscripts. No plan of alterations can be detected.

THE LATER MANUSCRIPTS OF *DRAUMA-JÓNS SAGA*

The mixing of texts found in this saga makes difficult the investigation of the later manuscript tradition. A connection between two manuscripts can only be deduced from the basis of a large number of very close correspondences in reading as compared with other manuscripts or from the possession of common errors. The present edition does not attempt any close examination of the later texts, but a tentative grouping of some of the manuscripts is possible.

(1) Stockholm Papp. 4° 15 and 22, Papp. fol. 47, Rask 32, LBS 998 4°, LBS 2232 8°, British Museum Additional 24,969. These manuscripts contain a C text. Many of the readings peculiar to C are found in them: so *draumurinn var ädur* 93, *af taka* 94–95, *þier so* 97, *er* 103, *nu var sagt* (*nü var mællt* Papp. fol. 47, *nu er sagt* LBS 2232 8°) 108–109, *a sinn fund med allri virdt* 113, *og*

ǫllu hiske synu (*og ǫllu synu hiske* Papp. 4° 22, Papp. fol. 47, Rask 32, LBS 998 4°, om. B.M. Add. 24,969) 125, *skiötlega mykill* (except LBS 2232 8°) 127, *mællte* (except LBS 998 4°) 146, *lÿda so dagar* (*lida so framm stunder* LBS 998 4°) 147. There are, however, a number of cases where manuscripts have non-C readings: so, for example, *beggia* (all but Papp. 4° 15) (= ADEF) 92, *eigu* (Papp. 4° 15, Rask 32, LBS 998 4°) (= BD) 92, *Asg*(*autur*) *B*(*ondi*) (all) (= ABF) 109, *bar ä mille* (Papp. 4° 22, Papp. fol. 47) (= DE) 110, *vera* (Papp. 4° 22, Papp. fol. 47, LBS 2232 8°, B.M. Add. 24,969) (= ADE) 114, *mikill* (LBS 2232 8°) (= AE) 127, *talade* (LBS 998 4°) (= ADF) 146. In these cases the manuscripts not cited have the C reading. Further mixing of texts must therefore have taken place within this group.

(2) AM 575b 4°, JS 635 4°, JS 47 8°, IB 162 8°. These manuscripts cannot be derived directly from any one of the early texts, though they seem to have connections with E. They have the following combination of readings: *beggia* (= ADEF) 92, *rett* om. (= EF) 93, *upp taca* (= ABE) 94–95, *snüa* (*snuer* in a slightly different context JS 635 4°, JS 47 8°, IB 162 8°) (= BDE) 100, *huat* om. (= BEF) 101, *þu munt gieta* (*þu munt þar gieta* JS 635 4°) (= BCDE) 103, *talz ockar* (= E) 103, *med* (= BCDE) 104, *þui lÿkr* (except IB 162 8°) (= B) 106, *sem þu ert* (= ABE) 106, *rÿfur* (= ABEF) 110, *reidi, oc undran* (= E) 112, *verda* (= BCF) 114, *ec sagdi þier* (= E) 116, *fä* (= E) 117, *fader minn* (= DE) 118, *firer siälfan keisarann* (*fyrer keisaran* IB 162 8°) (= AEF) 137–138. They also have a number of variants in common not found in early manuscripts: so, for example, *til beggia handa sem þu ert vanur* (except JS 47 8°) 91–92, *adr var* om. 93, *Bondi s*(*uarar*) om. 93–94, *hluti* add *s: bondj* 94, *öviturlegt* for *vvænt* 95, *til anrar* for *minnar* 95, *svik* for *fiuk* 99. Within this group, too, further textual mixing is indicated by the presence of dual variant forms: so, for example, *eigu* (AM 575b 4°, JS 635 4°) *eign* (JS 47 8°) 92, *trunad* (AM 575b 4°) *gaum* (JS 635 4°, JS 47 8°, IB 162 8°) 96, *önäd* (AM 575b 4°) *önäder* (JS 635 4°, JS 47 8°, IB 162 8°) 104, *seia* (AM 575b 4° , JS 47 8°, IB 162 8°) *seiger* (JS 635 4°) 113.

(3) JS 27 fol., JS 29 fol., JS 87 4°, Rask 35, LBS 679 4°, LBS 715 4°, LBS 2319 4°, LBS 1726 8°, LBS 2319 8°, IB 210 4°, IB 277 4°, IBR 41 8°, IBR 42 8°, British Museum Additional 4860. LBS 1492 4°, LBS 1626 4° are also probably related to this group. These manuscripts again are not directly derivable from any one of the early texts. They have the following combination of readings: *beggia* (= ADEF) 92, *rett* om. (= EF) 93, *af taka* (except for LBS 2319 8°, IBR 41 8°, IBR 42 8°) (= C) 94–95, *stefnt* om. (= BCDE) 95, *gaum ad* (= AF) 96, *snüa* (= BDE) 100, *þu munt gieta* (*þä muntu gieta* LBS 679 4°, IB 277 4°) (= BCDE) 103, *tals ockar* (*tal* LBS 2319 8°, IBR 41 8°, IBR 42 8°) (= E) 103, *slÿkr* (= ACDEF) 106, *sem þv ert* om. (= CDF) 106, *þetta efnne* (*þad efni* LBS 679 4°, IBR 41 8°, *þeirra efni* B.M. Add. 4860) (= BE) 108. They have also a number of variants in common not found in the early manuscripts: so, for example, *minnar handar* om. 95, *seigia* for *hlæia*

at mer ef 97, *þier ofmiok* (*þier of mikid* JS 29 fol., JS 87 4°, LBS 1726 8°, IB 210 4°, IB 277 4°) for *suo miog þinum visdom* 97, *Ok skal ek hafa gödra* for *efter allra* 98, *at vvilia þinum* om. 101–102, *mier mein giöra at övilia þÿnum* (*med övilia þÿnumm* LBS 1726 8°, IB 210 4°, *giöra þo af* LBS 2319 8°, *gióra vid Hinrik þo af ovilia þinum* IBR 41 8°, IBR 42 8°) for *gera mer mein* 102, *ord* for *onader* 104, *övÿst* for *oruænt* 105, *leinist* for *feliz* 106. Within this group again dual forms appear: so, for example, JS 87 4°, Rask 35, LBS 2319 4°, LBS 2319 8°, IBR 42 8° read *eign* 92, the rest read *eigu*, except for IB 277 4° which omits the passage, and JS 29 fol. which could read either: JS 29 fol., JS 87 4° read *giort* 103, the rest read *greintt*.

It is clear, then, that mixing of texts continued until late in the manuscript tradition of the saga. It is significant that no text examined is a direct copy of one of one of the three earliest manuscripts. Of the texts unclassified the larger proportion are so confused as to defy any attempt at derivation. Three, LBS 1637 4°, LBS 479 8°, and LBS 1137 8°, are defective, LBS 479 8° being only a fragment of a single page. AM 397 fol. is an admitted copy of AM 510 4°. LBS 2041 8° is an A text, though deriving directly neither from AM 335 4° nor AM 123 8°. The rest are mixed texts, which, in view of their late date, are unlikely to repay closer examination.

THE PRESENT EDITION

The choice of a basic text for the present edition clearly lies between those of AM 335 4° and AM 657 4°. There is no strong reason for preferring either to the other. AM 657 4° has, as has been shown, more forms in common with the AM 567 4° fragment than has AM 335 4°, but the preponderance of BC readings (44) over AB (27) and AC (22) readings is by no means significant statistically in view of the shortness of the C text available. AM 335 4° is slightly more complete than AM 657 4°, but the difference in completeness of the two texts is not large. Neither scribe is completely without error, but on the other hand neither is unduly inaccurate. There is no important difference in the dates of the manuscripts. Taking the six earliest manuscripts into consideration, AM 335 4° has considerably fewer unsupported readings than AM 657 4°, but this is largely due to the close connection between AM 335 4° and AM 123 8°. The spelling of the AM 335 4° scribe is more conventional than that of the AM 657 4° scribe, who writes *l-* for *hl-* in such words as *lutum*, *lupu*, *r-* occasionally for *hr-* in *rid*, *e* usually for *æ*/*œ* in *alfregizst*, *framkuemd*, *megdizst*, and produces such strange forms as *luthi* for *hluti*, *legia* for *hlæja* and *reddr* for *hræddr*. On the whole, however, there is no particular reason for preferring one text to the other, and the present choice of AM 335 4° as the basic text is largely arbitrary. The following changes have been made in the text of that manuscript:

(a) Emendations and additions have been made only where necessary to the sense. Emendations are preceded in the text by an asterisk. Letters

or words omitted by the scribe of AM 335 4° are added in diagonal brackets ⟨ ⟩. Single letters omitted are added in accordance with the usual spelling conventions of the manuscript. Full words are added in the spelling of one of the other manuscripts, and the source of the addition is quoted in the textual notes. Usually this source will be the earliest available manuscript, AM 657 4°, but in cases where that manuscript has a variant reading at the point in question, the manuscript with the closest reading to AM 335 4° supplies the omission.

(b) Words originally in the manuscript but now illegible or torn away are added in square brackets [ ]. Where some indication of the original reading still remains—the existence of an illegible abbrevation symbol or parts of letters—the spelling of the added forms is in accordance with the deduced original. In other cases the principles governing the adding of omitted forms apply.

(c) The chapter division is editorial.

(d) The manuscript punctuation of the text is very sparse. Original punctuation stops are generally retained in the present text, and are set above the line. Otherwise capitalization and punctuation are editorial. A few stops in the manuscript have been omitted: these are stops placed round letters to indicate abbreviations, as for example ·*h*· (expanded *h*(*inn*)) 7, ·*e*· (expanded *e*(*da*)) 17, and round the word *j* 165, 173, and stops occasionally placed at the end of a line of the manuscript.

(e) Abbreviated forms are expanded in accordance with the scribe's normal spelling. Two types of abbreviation are used in AM 335 4°:

(i) The representation of a word by its initial letter, or occasionally by its first few letters, followed by a stop, but with no abbreviation symbol. In this case the expansion is placed in round brackets ( ). The abbreviation ·*s*· can be expanded in four ways, *s*(*eger*) 250, *s*(*agdi*) 83, *s*(*uarar*) 42, *s*(*uaradi*) 40; the particular form used is that found in AM 657 4°, though the spelling of the AM 335 4° scribe is used.

(ii) The indication of the abbreviation by some type of symbol, usually placed above the line: so, for example, $\overset{r}{m}$ for *madr*, $\overline{ld}$ for *land*. In this case the expansion is italicised. The abbreviation symbol is regarded as indicating the form, not the spelling of the word: so t^{v}ir 153 is expanded t*ru*ir, not t*rv*ir, g^{o}t 175 as g*io*rt, not g*o*rt, since these are the spellings more commonly used by the scribe himself.

The scribe of AM 335 4°, in common with most Old Norse scribes, places a line or dot over a consonant to indicate a double consonant. In the case of nasals, in particular *n*, this can be done in two ways, either by placing a line above the *n* itself, or by putting a line above the vowel immediately preceding it. So, for example, si$\bar{n}$i is expanded sin*n*i 4, whereas sogūni is expanded sogu*n*ni 12. Frequently, however, the scribe draws a general line over both

vowel and nasal, as in sioīn 16, hardēndum 27. In such cases the second *n* is italicised in the printed form.

The critical apparatus of the present edition is divided into two parts. Immediately below the text on each page are comments on the text of AM 335 4° itself—details of emendations, unusual forms, etc. Below this again are variant readings. Expanded abbreviations are indicated by italics in the first part, but are expanded without notice in the second. The following abbreviations are also used: corr. = corrected: illeg. = illegible: om. = omit: sup. = supplied: u.v. = only clearly legible under ultra-violet light. Letters placed between single inverted commas are illegible due to fading or staining of the manuscript. Those placed between double inverted commas have been lost due to holing or tearing.

All the variants in AM 657 4° and AM 567 4° III are given. Because of the large amount of re-writing in manuscripts AM 510 4° and Stockholm Papp. fol. 1, it was considered impracticable to give a complete list of the variants in these manuscripts. The following compromise has been adopted for dealing with these two manuscripts and with AM 123 8°. Where two or more of these later texts agree in having a common variant, that variant reading is quoted: where any of these later texts agrees with A, B or C in any case, the fact is noted. Unsupported variants from the three later texts are not given.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The following details of the spelling of the AM 335 4° scribe are important for the expansion of abbreviations:

Vowels

Vowel lengths are not usually indicated: the only examples are *gȯzi* 25, *fée* 87, 88, 121 *fee* 89.

Vowels in stressed syllables

a. *vá* is rounded to *vo/uo* in *suo* always, but otherwise usually remains, as in *vadi* 79, *vag* 123, *vandri* 206, *vattum* 292.

U-umlaut of *a* is usually *o*, as in *oll lond* 3, *holl* 11, *sogunni* 12; *au/av* is sometimes used before *ng*, *g* + consonant, as in *lavng* 86, *aunngum* 190, *frasavgnin* 230, *forsavgn* 303, *savgd* 324, and also in *savgv* 111, *tavlv* 272; but note the forms *ongum* 29, 332, *frasogn* 229, 231, *tilsogn* 301.

U-umlaut of *vá* is *vo* in *voro* 215, *vorvt* 238, but note *kuamo* 198.

e. *e* is usually diphthongised to *ei* before *ng* as in *eingi* 3, 57, *leinngr* 107, 257, *feingit* 131, 161, *streinger* 176. *e* occurs only in *enngi* 61, 123.

e usually remains before *gi/ge* and *gj*, as in *segiandi* 39, *seger* 40, 43, *segia* 52, 65, *þegit* 151, *megi* 160. *ei* occurs only in *beiggia* 92, but note *beggia* 90.

e remains undiphthongised to *ie* after *k* in *kenner* 202.

ve remains unshifted to *vö* in *hverium* 278.

The form *ger* (imperative of *gera*) is found 223: the past participle form is *giorr* 13.

é more often remains as in *redi* 3, 192, *het* 6, *rettviss* 14, *se* 51, 265. Spellings in *ie* occur in *fiell* 244, and in fair numbers in the personal pronoun *sier* 42, 134, etc. There are, however, examples of the personal pronouns in *e*, as in *mer* 66, 99, *ser* 13, 143, etc.

i. *i* becomes *y* in all forms of the word *mykill*: so *mykill* 2, 73, *myklvm* 27, *mykit* 28, 122.

o. *o* is always raised to *u* in *hun* 7, 8.

u. Initial *u* is usually represented by *v*, as in *vm* 3, 13, *vngr* 10, *vtan* 44, *vpp* 50, 65. Examples of initial *u* occur, but they are comparatively rare: so *upp* 36, *undarligt* 67, *undan* 72. Medial and final *u* are commonly represented by *u*, though examples of *v* are also common, particularly finally in monosyllables: so *mundi* 3, *pessu* 8, *kyniut* 9, *Nu* 12, *sogunni* 12, and *dravma* 2, *dravmr* 3, *systvr* 5, *þav* 6, *frv* 9. The personal name *Asgavtr* is always spelt with *v*.

y. *y* is unrounded to *i* when followed by *i/e* or *j* in the next syllable in *firer* 26, in all forms of the verb *þikia*, as *þikiz* 45, 58, *þikivmz* 212, and in *skilldi* 30. *y* remains in *yfer* 81, 135, and in *fyrri* 136, and *fyrer* 212.

Vowels in unstressed syllables

-i/-e. *i* is the usual form in endings: *e* occurs only in *Henne* 10, 11, but note *henni* 161, 166. In the ending *-ir/-er er* is much the more common, as in *viler* 45, *seger*, 70, *logarner* 75, *aller* 77, *muner* 100 (14 examples altogether): but *truir* 153, *gerir* 169, 182, *tarfellir* 273, *stillir* 299.

-u/-o. *u* is the more common form, though a considerable number of examples of final *o* occur: so *nockurro* 12, *landino* 19, *þorþino* 42, *huerso* 43, 140. The forms *ero* 27, 31, *voro* 215, always have the *o* ending.

-ur/-r. The development of the glide vowel before final *r* is not instanced. The inverted spelling *rædr* for *rædur* occurs 209, but note also *orrostur* 88.

Consonants

ð. *ð* is always written *d:* so *hardradr* 2, *redi* 3, *brodr* 8.

k. Final *k* in unstressed syllables frequently remains, as in *miok* 6, 30, *ek* 41, 45, *þik* 56, *ok* 91, 209. Rather fewer forms in *g* appear, as *miog* 19, 25, *sig* 26, 164, *eg* 49, 50. The single form *egh* also occurs 105.

r. *rl* usually remains as in *iarl* 1, 6, *huskorlvm* 121. Assimilation to *ll* occurs only in *jall* 98.

t. Final *t* usually remains in unstressed syllables: so *at* 1, 2, *strokit* 25, *rikit* 79, *landit* 81. *t* is usual as the ending of the 2. pers. pl. of verbs and of the plural imp., as in *er[u]t* 213 *ervt* 264, *gefit* 226, *vorvt* 238, *geingit* 238. *t* for *ð* appears in *uansignvt* (neut. pl.) 302. *ð*, spelt *d*, is usual rather than *t* in endings to words whose stems end in *t:* so *litid* 35, *hiartad* 159, *latid* 204, *leitad* 320, *hatid* 320. Occasionally other examples in *d* occur, as *ad* 36, 203, *uid* (dual pron.) 69, and there is a single example *ath* 127.

v. Initial *v* is usually spelt *v*, medial *v* is usually spelt *u*, though there are exceptions to each case: so *vid* 5, 14, *Voro* 6, 215, *var* 7, 9, *vikr* 12, but *uel* 13,

uid 69: *framkuæmd* 4, *leiksuein* 10, *raduand⟨r⟩* 14, *huerr* 17, 41, *suo* 18, 21, but *forvitri* 2, *kvæntr* 9, *rettviss* 14. The exact form intended by the scribe is not always clear.

s. *s* is voiced to *z* after *nd, ll, nn* and *t:* so *landz* 16, 25, *hunz* 181, *allz* 124, *mvnz* 244, *Asgavtz* 22, 120.

z. *z* is the usual ending of the medio-passive verb and of the superlative adverb: so *alfrægdiz* 2, *mægdiz* 5, *liktiz* 8, *hellz* 64.

In preparing the present edition the editor has had the opportunity of examining all the manuscripts kept in Danish and English libraries. The manuscripts now in Sweden and Iceland have been checked by means of micro-films. Thanks are due to the librarians in Copenhagen, Stockholm, Reykjavík and London for their helpful co-operation, to Professor Jón Helgason of the University of Copenhagen and Mr. J. V. Towey of the University of Nottingham for detailed help in particular points (and to Professor Helgason for permission to reproduce a page of MS. AM 335 4°), and to Professor R. M. Wilson of the University of Sheffield for valuable criticism of an earlier draft of this work.

DRAUMA JÓNS SAGA

31v 1. HEinrekr er madr nefndr iarl at tign *ok* sat j Saxlandi madr forvitri *ok* nockut hardradr· dravma madr suo mykill at þat alfrægdiz vm oll lond at sa dravmr mundi eingi firer hann koma at hann redi eigi sem efter geck. Af þessi sinni speki feick hann þa framkuæmd at hann mægdiz vid sialfan keisarann j Saxlandi *ok* feck systvr ⟨hans er Jngibiorgh⟩ het. Voro þav ecki miok skaplik iarl *ok* keisara syster· þuiat hun var h(inn) mesti heilhvgi kristin vel *ok* gudhrædd liktiz hun j þessu ollv keisaranum brodr sinum. Keisarin var *ok* kvæntr var hans frv kyniut vestan af Flandr hardla vænn *ok* tiginborin. Henne hafdi *fylgt heiman einn vngr madr leiksuein hennar er henne þionadi j holl keisarans·

2. Nu vikr sogunni at nordr j siotuni nockurro sat einn forrikr bondi er Asgavtr het· uel at ser giorr vm alla hluti milldr *ok* gestrisinn raduand⟨r⟩ *ok* rettviss· godr orlavsna vid þa er hans þvrftu enda skorti hann ecki til þuiat hans rikdomr stod a morgum fotum bædi landz *ok* lagar. Vt a sioinn firer hofut bænum lagu iii eyiar er hann atti huerr vt af annarri. Var þar j fenadr hans e(da) akrar *ok* ymislig orka til at vinnings. Nu kemr suo tima at arferd hallaz miog j landino geriz vedratta kolld suo at kornit friouaz ecki

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Textual Notes

Title: Drauma Jóns Saga. *added in a late hand; no sign of an earlier title visible; line* 1 *ends at* madr (2) 1, *after which a space* 2·5 *cm. long has been left for the later insertion of a title.* 2 *ok, the line probably accidental.* 6 hans-Jngibiorgh *sup. from B.* 10 tiginborin. fylgt: flygt, *corr. from B, but cf.* flygd 32. 13 hluti-*ok u.v.* 15 -domr, *the final minim of* m *used also as the* r *vertical.* 18 vinnings *u.v.* 19 friouaz *u.v.*

Variant Readings

Title: af drauma joni· *in red, set at the right-hand end of line* 1 *B.* 1 HEinrekr *D:* Henrik *E, and F later.* 2 -vitri: -uitr *BD.* suo mykill: mikill sua *BD.* alfrægdiz: alfrẹgizst *B*, alfræddizt *D.* 3 sa-eingi: saa mỳndi engi draumr *B*, sa mundi eigi draumur *D.* koma *D:* borinn *B.* 4 þa: so mykla *DE.* 7 ok *DE: add* hardla *B.* 9 ok: *om. DE.* kvæntr: *add* madur *DE.* vestan *D:* vtan *B.* 10 Henne hafdi *DE:* hafde henne *B.* 11 henne þionadi *D:* þionade henne *B*, hennj þienti *E.* 12 vikr: er at vikia *BD*, er ad uijka *E.* at *D:* allt *B.* forrikr: *add* madur og *DE.* 15 rik-: *the initial letter not clearly identifiable as* R- *B.* 16 a sioinn: j sionum *D*, aa sj[o]numm, o *blotched E.* 18 ok *D:* edr *B.* at: a- *BF*, áà *D.* suo *F:* þar *BDE.* -ferd *D:* -ferdi *EF.* 19 miog *D: om. BF.* landino: *add* miog *F.* geriz: giordiz *DF.* kornit: korniz- *followed by a space where a letter, probably* s, *has been scratched out B.* friouaz *D:* friofadizst *B*, friofgadiz *F.* ecki *F:* eigi *BD.*

en saker þess at j slikum londum er þat mest almennings matr sem jordin gefr vard fliott hit mesta hallæri ok varan suo at riker menn hofdu varla mat j munn. Kom þetta tilfelli suo til Asgavtz bonda sem anara manna· leysti hann þo margra manna *vankuædi vm eina hrid þuiat hann hafdi buit j diupara lagi bædi korn ok annan kost. Var ok suo komit gózi landz manna at þat var miog strokit vt til kavpmanna medan þeir hofdu nockut til at kavpa firer sig·

3. Ok sem menn ero stadder j suo myklvm haska ok hardenndum dreymer Asgavt bonda dravm einn er honum fannz mykit vm. Hann seger ongum manni dravminn þuiat þat var rikra manna hattr j Saxlandi ok nu miok alltida at Heinrekr jarl skilldi einn rada dravma alla þa sem nockurs ero verder. Þui hugsar bondin suo gera at sækia hans fvnd tekr sina *fylgd ok ferr j veg. Honum var miog titt vm ferdina suo at naliga ferr hann bædi dag ok nott þuiat forvitni dravmsins flytti ⟨honum⟩. Bar þat til einn morginn arla sem hann hefer enn eigi halfsott veginn at hann ridr fram [vm] eitt litid þorp þar var eitt nytt hus j upp reist ok smidr ad verki sino· Ridr bondinn nærr fram hia þui nyia husi ok herbergi. Nu saker þess at hann var mykilhæfr madr ok alfrægr *j godum hlutum lætr smidrinn huilaz oxina ok kastar þegar ordum a hann med eignar nafni suo segiandi

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Textual Notes—continued.

23 vankuædi: vænkuædi, *corr. from F.* 26 firer *inserted above the line.* 32 fylgd: flygd, *corr. from B, but cf.* flygt 10. 34 honum *sup. from F.* 35 vm *illeg. due to creasing of the manuscript, sup. from B.* 38 j godum: at godum/ j godum. 39 oxina.

Variant Readings—continued.

20 en: *om. BE,* og *DF.* mest *D: om. B,* mestur *F.* 21 fliott *F:* skiott *DE.* at *F: om. DE.* 22 munn *F: add* sier *DE.* 23 sem *F: add* til *D, add* og til *E.* þo *F:* þa *DE.* margra manna *EF:* margs manz *BD.* vankuædi: vandrøde *BDE.* 25 komit *F: add* lausa *BDE.* 26 firer *D:* kostinn fyrer *EF.* sig *D: add* kostinn *B.* 27 Ok *DEF: add* sua *B.* ero *E:* voru *BF.* haska ok: *om. BDEF.* 28 dreymer *D:* dreimdi *EF.* dravm einn: eirnn draumm *EF.* mykit vm *DF:* vm mikit *B.* 30 alltida *F:* alsida vordit *B,* alsida *E.* 31 ero: voru *BEF.* suo *D: add* at *BEF.* 32 sækia *F: add* aa *DE.* 32–33 Honum-nott *F: om. BE,* og er honum miog antt um ferdina· so at hann reid naliga natt sem dag *D.* 34 flytti honum *DF:* flutti hann *B.* Bar: Berr *BDE.* þat: *add* sua *BD,* so *E.* 35 hefer *F:* hefur *DE.* enn *D: om. B.* 36 nytt *F: om. B,* litit *DE.* j *F: om. DE.* upp *DF:* raaf *B.* 37 nærr *F:* rett *B, om. DE.* hia *DEF:* medr *B.* husi ok *DF: om. BE.* Nu *F:* ok *BDE.* 38 j *F:* at *D.* 39 oxina: oxinu *wrongly B.*

40 huert skal rida bondi seger hann. Bondi s(uaradi) huerr spyrr at. Smidrin seger ek heiti Jon. Bondi spyrr þa enn huerr er Jon firer sier· Hann s(uarar) litill bonda son er her sitr j þorpino. Bondi spyrr huerso heiter fader þinn. Valltari heiter hann seger smidrin. Er hann rikr madr sagdi bonndi. Þat ferr fiarri seger Jon vtan þv
45 viler þat rikdom kalla at eiga bornin morg. Ek þikiz þat sia seger bonndi at þv munt mykils fiar afla j hverium manadi med handaverkum þinum ef þv hefer smidat kapello þessa. Þetta er skemma litil seger Jon at fader minn sofi j en eigi kapella. Menntan min er ok miok litil færr eg þui smatt at giort en þo bondi satt at segia helldr þat
50 nv vpp radi fodur mins j nockuru lagi er eg vil eigi spara mik til starfa sem verdugt er· Nu þott eg se orikr er kunnig hæuerska þin ok þui muntu vilia segia mer nockut af huert þv ætlar at fara þuiat
32r þu ert eigi giarn til navdsynia lavst at rekaz vm lond. Bondi s(uarar) þat er mitt erenndi sem miog er titt j landi þessu [ok] o[drum naalęgium]
55 rikium at sækia fund Heinreks iarls· Jon s(uaradi) sett er þa erendit þik mun dreymt hafa nockut merkiligt e(da) mun þat logtekit at eingi *madr j Saxlandi kunni dravma at rada nema Hei⟨n⟩rekr iarl. Heyr a seger bondi er þat til at þ[u] þikiz j nockurum vændum

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Textual Notes—continued.

50 mins *or* minns. 53 rekaz *u.v.* 54 "*ok*" o"drum naalęgium", *top border torn away; sup. from B.* 55 at *u.v.* 57 madr-kunni: kunna madr j Saxlandi, *corr. from B.* 58 Heyr a *u.v.* þu *inserted above the line; þ followed by a vowel* (e, o, v?), *then a third letter or perhaps a blot; perhaps* þer.

Variant Readings—continued.

40 seger *F:* sagdi *DE.* Bondi s(uaradi): *om. DEF.* at: *add* þessu ·s· bondi *D, add* seigir Bondi *EF.* 41 heiti *DF:* heitir *B.* 42 Hann *DF:* Smidrinn *B.* 43 spyrr *F: add* þa enn *B,* ·s· *D.* Valltari *DEF:* Valltirr *B.* smidrin *DF:* smidr *B.* 44 sagdi: segir *BF,* ·s· *DE.* fiarri *F: add* þui *DE.* Jon *F:* smidr *BD.* 45 bornin morg: morgh born *BDE,* born morg *F.* þikiz: þikunzt *DEF.* þat *F: om. DE.* 46 munt *F:* maatt *BDE.* j *DF:* aa *BE.* 47 hefer *F:* hefur *DE.* kapello þessa *F: add* Jon suarade *B,* hus þetta· Jon ·s· *D,* kastala þennan Jon seigir *E.* 47–48 seger Jon *F: om. BDE.* 48 at *F:* er *DE.* sofi-kapella *F:* hafi firir suefnhus· enn *B,* hefer fyrer suefnhus Enn *D,* hefur fyrer suefnn hus enn *E.* ok *F: om. BDE.* 49 færr: fæ *DE.* þo *E: add* nu *B.* segia *E: add* at þui *B.* þat *DE: om. B.* 50 nv: *om. BDE.* radi-mins: *om. BDE,* rad fodur myns *F.* 50–51 vil-starfa *F:* spari mik eigi *B,* spare mig eigi til *D,* spari mig ecki *E.* 51 Nu *F:* Enn *BE.* þott *DF:* þoat *B,* þo *E.* se *EF: add* madr *BD.* er(2): *add* mier *DEF.* 52 at fara: gerazst *B, om. DE,* fara *F.* 55 sækia: *add* àà *DEF.* s(uaradi): suarar *F.* 56 e(da): edr *BEF.* 57 at *DF: om. BE.* nema *DF:* vtan *BE.* 58 Heyr *F: add* her *B.* seger *E:* sagdi *BF.*

hia þuilikum spekinngi sem iarll er. Eigi er þat [m]in ord seger Jon at ek þikiz iafnvitr iarlli enda mundi þat suo fara þott ek fatækr þ[y]ddi nockurn dr[aum] e[igi] verr en hann þa mundi enngi trua firer manna mun af þui at hans frægd flytz vm oll [r]iki en ek ligg a litlum kotbæ j husi fedr mins. Vanligt er s(agdi) bondi at suo fari sem þv seger en eit se ek hellz til ⟨at þu kynnizst milli manna⟩ ef þu hefr suo vpp at segia huat mik hefer dreymt ok sidan þydinngina þar efter. Meinfanngа þikiz þv nv leita mer bondi syniz mer ok undarligt ef þv ætlar annan mann vitrara en iarll j þessari list þuiat þat hefer eingi af honum sagt at hann radi osagda dravma. En þo mun eg suo diarfr at profa til helldr en uid skilim suo buit· Bondi iattar þessu. Jon seger þa þig dreymdi at þv værer geingin af sæng þinni ok stæder firer karls dyrum a þinum hofut bæ ok þer er kunigt at þar liggia vt undan ·iij· eyiar er þu att. Syndiz þer sem j landnordr a yzstu eyiunni gysi vpp logi mykill en saker vedrs er a stod lagdi logann til þeirrar eyiarinnar er j midiu var ok sem hann kom þar spruttv vpp ij elldar j þeirri ey j landnordr ok vtnordr. Feillv logarner

Textual Notes—continued.

59 'm'in-seger *u.v.* 61 þ'y'ddi nockurn *u.v., no sign of the tail of the* y. draum e*igi:* draum *inserted above the line; the last three letters obscure the* i *superscript* of e*igi*. 62–63 v*m*-a *u.v.*, 'r'*iki an illeg. letter with* i *superscript*. 64 seger-til *u.v.* at-manna *sup. from B.* 65–66 þydinngina-efter *u.v.* 67 þv-vitrara *u.v.* 68 dravma *u.v.*

Variant Readings—continued.

59 er (1) *F: add* Jon svarar *B, add* Jon ·s· *D.* er (2) *E:* eru *BF.* seger Jon *EF: om. BD.* 60 þikiz: þikunst *EF.* iafnvitr *F: add* Heinreki *BD.* þat *F: om. BE.* þott *DEF:* þoat *B.* fatækr *E: add* madr *BF.* 61 þyddi *EF:* þýda *B,* at þyda *D.* eigi: engu *BDF.* mundi *DE:* mýndi *B.* enngi *F: add* þui *D,* þui einginn *E.* 62 af *F: om. BDE.* riki *F:* lond og riki *DE.* ligg *DEF:* liggr *B.* 63 kotbæ *F:* kodda *BD.* fedr *D:* fodur *BF.* 63–64 s(agdi)-fari: at so fari ·s· b· *DF.* 64 seger *DE:* sagdir *BF.* se *F:* veitt *BE.* ek *EF: add* þo *B.* at-manna: *om. F.* milli manna: manna j millum *D,* manna áa milli *E.* 65 suo *DF: om. B.* segia *F: add* mer *B,* þu ·s· mier *DE.* 66 þar *D: om. EF.* efter *F:* medr· Smidr suarar þa *B,* med· Jon ·s· *DE.* mer (1) *DEF: om. B.* bondi *E: om. DF.* 67 annan *DEF: om. B.* vitrara *F:* vitrare *DE.* iarll *EF: add* -inn *B.* 68 hefer *F:* hefur *DE.* eingi *DEF:* eigi *B.* sagt *F:* flutz *B,* flutt *DE.* radi *D:* riedi *EF.* 69 uid: *one minim too many B.* skilim: skilivm *DEF.* 70 þessu *DF:* þui *B.* Jon *DF:* Smidr *B.* værer geingin *F:* þottizst ganga vt *BDE.* 71 stæder *F:* standa *BDE.* karls: karll- *BDEF.* ok (2) *F:* enn *BDE.* 72 liggia-undan: vndan liggia *B,* ut undan liggia *DF.* 73 en *F:* ok *BDE.* 74 midiu: mid *D,* midid *EF.* 75 spruttv: *add* þar *DF.* ey *F: add* -nni *B.* Feillv *F:* felldu *BD.*

nv saman *ok* geingu jnn at þridiv eyiunni en er þar kom hlvpv vpp j henni iij elldar af vt nordri *ok* geystvz sidan aller samt vpp a meginland med suo hordum flvg *ok* elldligum sueim j allar ætter at þu hugder allt rikit mundu brenna. Vartv þui akafliga hrædr at þessi vadi stýrdi fyrst a þinn bvgard en dreifdiz sidan sem eg sagdi adr alla vega vm landit en suo uitt sem þessi ognar elldr rann yfer brenndi hann eigi eitt hit minsta. Nu er kunigt ef dravmr þinn er nockut þann ueg fallinn· Bondi s(agdi) at alldri bar ord j milli *ok* ertv ambvrdar madr med unndarligri vizsku e(da) huersv rædr þv nv dravminn· Hann s(uaradi) þydinng dravms þessa er mykil *ok* eigi lavng. J þessum vi stodum *ok* j serhueria ætt er elldrinn kom vpp leyniz iardfolgit féé er hermenn hafa folgit efter fornum sid sem titt er adr menn heyia hardar orrostur *ok* bera féé a land en griot a skip. Nu er þat liost bondi at þetta fee allt er þin eignn *ok* þui lagdi logann fyrst at þinum bæ en sidan vt j rikit beggia vegna at þv munt finna *ok* vpp grafa *ok* til þin heim flytia ok sidan dreifa sem þv ert vanr til beiggia handa suo at margr mun fullsæll af verda þinni eign enda er nv þydingin rett jamnsonn sem adr var dravmrinn· Bondi s(uarar) þv seger mykla hluti suo ek ueit varla huat eg skal vpp taka. Þat mun þikia vvænt stefnt minnar handar ef ek gef suo

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Textual Notes—continued.

85 dravms *or* dravmss. 86 lavng. 90 vegna.

Variant Readings—continued.

76 nv: sik *BD, illeg. F.* at *D: add* hinni *BF.* 77 af-nordri: *add* fullu nordri ok landuedri *wrongly B, add* fullu *D,* af nordre fullu og landnordre *E,* j vtnordur *F.* geystvz *DEF:* geýstizst *B.* 78 elldligum sueim: elldingum *BEF.* 79 Vartv *DF:* Vart þu *B.* 80 bvgard: *apparently* bęigard *B,* bæ *DE,* gard *F.* 80–81 alla-landit *F: om. BDE.* 81 en *F:* ok *BD.* ognar *F: add* -lege *B,* ogurligi *D.* 82 er (1): *add* þer *BEF.* 83 þann ueg *F:* sua *BD.* j *F: om. B,* áà *DE.* ertv *DF:* ertþú *B.* 84 am-: af- *BDF.* e(da): edr *EF.* nv *F: om. DE.* 84–85 nv dravminn *F:* drauminn nu *B.* 85 Hann *F:* Smidr *B,* Jon *DE.* s(uaradi): suarar *EF.* dravms þessa *F:* þersa draums *BDE.* ok *F:* enn *BDE.* 86 er: sem *BDEF.* 87 leyniz *DE:* leýnazst *B.* -folgit *DEF:* folgin *B.* folgit *F:* grafit nidr *BD,* grafid *E.* 88 er *E:* var *BD, illeg. F.* adr *F: add* enn *DE.* ok *F:* at *BD.* 89 þat *EF: om. BD.* 91 s'e'm *C begins.* 92 t'il' *C.* beiggia *DE:* tueggia *BC,* beg'gia' *F.* 'at' *C.* 'mun fu'llsæll *C.* af verda *F:* verda af *BC,* /uerda/af/af *D.* eign *EF:* eigu *BD.* 93 nv *F: add* sagt *C.* þyd'ingi'n *C.* rett: veitt *B, om. EF.* adr-dravmrinn *DF:* draumrinn var adr *C.* 94 suo *E: add* at *BCDF.* vpp: af *C.* 94–95 vpp taka *E:* af rada *D.* 95 stefnt *F: om. BCDE.*

m*y*kinn gav*m* at ordu*m* þinu*m* vkunigs m*anz* at eg seti aftr mina fe*r*d *ok* m*u*nv me*n*n hlæia at me*r* ef ek treysti suo miog þinu*m* visdo*m* en finag e*igi* Heinrek jall efte*r* allra m*anna* sid einkan*n*liga ef *þat* p*r*ofaz fiuk eit*t* e*r* þv sege*r* mer. Smidr s(uaradi) ecki er v*m* *þat* at
100 tala at þu mu*n*er aftr hue*r*fa þoat me*r* væri *þat* hugfelld*ra* *þuia*t þangat velltr huat sem ve*r*a vill en þo m*un* *þat* suo fa*r*a at vvilia þinu*m* at þv mu*n*t ge*r*a me*r* mein vid Heinr*ek* jarl me*d* ordu*m* þinu*m* *ok* geta orda ockarra *ok* likaz at þa se gi*o*rt *ok* greit*t* vm *þuia*t ja*r*ll mu*n* ge*r*a me*r* onade*r* *ok* at *þui* erendi mu*n*tv ge*r*az senndibodi·
32v 105 hef[er] þv [þa litlu betr] en egh· Bondi sege*r* at e*igi* se oruænt at suo fa*r*i. Mu*n* þa *ok* m*y*klo betr at slikr m*adr* se*m* þv e*r*t feliz e*igi* leinngr f*irer* mo*n*nu*m*.

4. Skilia þe*i*r efte*r* *þat* ge*ing*r þetta efte*r* *þui* alla leid sem Jon gat at Asgavt[r] bondi kom f*r*a*m* *ok* sege*r* *ia*rli dravm sin*n* en h*ann*
110 red suo at hue*r*gi greindi a v*id* Jon. Asgavtr ryfr þa t*r*unadin*n* *ok*

Textual Notes—continued.

98 finag̃, *the line probably accidental.* Heinrek: -ein- *blotched but legible.* 105 hef"er" þv "þa litlu betr", *top border torn away; sup. from B.* 109 Asgavt'r', *the final letter partly visible but not legible.*

Variant Readings—continued.

96 gavm: trunad *BCD*, edur trunad *wrongly E*, 'ga'u'm' *traces of the letters visible F.* at (1): *om. BCE, illeg. F.* 97 'e'k *C.* suo-visdom: sua miok þer *B*, þier sua *C*, þier so uel *D*, suo miǫg ordumm þynum *E*, suo 'mio'g þi'num v'isd'om' *F.* 98 finag: finn ek *B.* all"ra" 'mann'a *C.* 99 "mer" *C.* Smidr *F:* Jon *DE.* s(uaradi): su'arar' *C*, suarar *F.* 100 tala *DF: add* bondi *BE.* huerfa *F:* snua *BDE*, "huer"fa *C.* þoat *F:* þott *BDE.* 101 þanga"t" *C.* huat *D: om. BEF.* vill *DEF: om. C.* þat *EF: om. BCD.* 'v'vilia *C.* 102 'j'arll C. 103 ok (1): þu mant *BE*, þu m'a'n't' *C*, þuiat þu munt *D.* orda ockarra *F:* tals okkars *BCD*, talz ockar *E.* ok (2) *DEF:* er *C.* 103–104 likaz-mun: mun ·j· *D*, mun þa jarll *E.* 103 giort-greitt: greint *B*, greit *C*, giortt greitt, *the space between the words larger than usual, perhaps* og *completely faded away F.* þuiat *F:* þat at *B.* 104 onader *DF:* vnäad *BCE.* at *F:* medr *BCDE.* muntv *DEF:* mant þu *B.* senndibodi *DEF: add* hans *B.* 105 egh *DEF: add* segir smidr *B.* at (1) *E: om. CDF.* se *E: om. CF.* or- *DF:* v- *B.* 106 far'i' *C.* betr: *add* segir hann *BCF, add* ·s· bondi *D.* slikr *DEF:* þuilikr *B.* madr: *probably* mann *B.* sem-ert *E: om. CDF.* 108 efter þui *F:* efni *B*, mal sua til s- *followed by an illeg. letter, a space, then* assg· *crossed out C*, mal so til *D*, efnni til *E.* 108–109 Jon gat *EF:* nu var sagt *C*, nu uar sagt· og Jon gat *D.* 109 at-kom: kemur Asgautur framm *D.* bondi *F: om. CE.* kom: kemr *C.* kom fram *F:* fram kemr *BE.* 'iarli drav'm *C.* 110 red *D:* rædur *EF.* huergi greindi: *add* ord *CF*, huorgi bar ord aa milli *D*, ber eigi ord äa milli *E.* ryfr *EF:* rauf *CD.* þa *D: om. EF.* ok *DEF: om. B.*

seger iarllinum alla savgv þeirra Jons. Fylliz þar af hugr iarls mykilli vndran ok bydr Asgavti at j aftr reidinni skal hann finna Jon ok bioda honum med allri virkt ok sæmd a iarllsins gard seger at hans litilli ætt skal þat vera til mykillar vppreistar. Þetta erendi berr Asgavtr sem þeir finnaz en Jon s(uarar) Nv er suo komit bondi sem ek gat til at þin ord mundu mer meina þuiat eigi mun ætt min eflinng hliota af H(einreki) iarli helldr mun ek mæta þeim þvnga þott ek fari at fader ok moder mundu eigi ord efter sennda. En þott ek viti þetta mun ek fara eigi at sidr þuiat þat er forsia þess er ollv rædr. Er nv fyrst at segia af ferdum Asgavtz bonda at brat sem hann kemr heim ferr hann til eyianna med huskorlvm sinum ok finnr þar fé j suo morgum stodum sem fyrr visar til ok suo mykit er saman kom at þat nennti enngi madr a vag at bera. Vard þetta eigi hans eins gledi helldr allz rikissins vm huerfis· sem dravmrinn spadi. Er þat vti.

5. Nu skal vikia til Jons hann seger Ualltaro fedr sinum huat talat var seger at ofært er at sitia ordsendinng iarls ok þui gerer hann sik radinn ath rida. Var þa mykill gratr j þui husi þuiat allt

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Variant Readings—continued.

111 seger *DEF: add* þa *C.* iarllinum: ·j· *and* þa *added in the left-hand margin D,* jarlli *EF.* savgv *F:* fra sogu *C.* Fylliz *F: apparently* fulliz *C,* fylltizt *D.* Fylliziarls: hugur jallz filltist *E.* þar *F:* þadan *BCD.* af *DF: om. B.* iarls *F: add* -ins *B.* mi"ki"lli *C.* 112 -inni *F:* sinni *BCD.* fi"nna" *C.* 113 'bi'o'da' *C.* med-gard *F:* aa sinn fund med allri virt C. seger *F:* seg sua *B, add* sua *C,* seg honum so *D,* og seigia suo *E.* 114 "lit"illi *C.* vera *DE:* verda *BCF.* mykillar vppreistar *DF:* vpp reistar mikillar *C.* Þett'a erendi be'rr *C, lost partly by fading, partly by holing of the manuscript.* 115 Asgavtr *F: add* enn Jon suarar till *BCD, add* enn Jon s: *E.* sem (1): er *DE.* en-s(uarar) *F: om. BCDE.* kome't' *C.* bondi *DF: add* segir hann *BC.* 116 gat til *D:* sagdi þier *E,* sagda *F.* til: *om. BC.* mundu *E:* mundi *BDF.* mein'a' *C.* eigi *DF:* ei *CE.* min *EF:* minni *CD.* 117 hliota: leida *BCD,* bida *F.* þott *DEF:* þo at *B.* 118 fader *F: add* minn *DE.* mundu *DF:* myndi *B,* munu *C.* þott *F:* þo at *BC,* þott *the last two letters partly rubbed away and* at *added D.* viti *F:* vita *BCD.* þetta: *add* firir *BCDEF.* 119 eigi *DEF:* ei *C.* at *DE:* þui *BCF.* 120 Asgavtz: Asgautar *BC.* bonda *F: om. CD.* 121 eyianna *F:* eyarinnar *D, apparently* eigarinnar *E.* þar *F: om. BDE.* fé *F: add* þar sem til uar uisat og *D,* fied *E.* 122 sem-til *F: om. BCDE.* 123 a *D:* i *C.* bera: fęra *BCD.* Vard: uar *DEF.* 124 vm huerfis *E:* vmbergiss *CDF.* draumri"nn s"padi *C.* þat *F: add* sua *BC,* so *D.* 125 Nu *F:* ok nu *B,* Enn nu *CDE.* skal *F:* er at *DE.* Ualltaro: Valltara *BDEF.* f"ed"r *C.* sinum *F: add* ok ollu hýske *BDE, add* ok aullu hýski sinu *C.* 126 talat: talla *wrongly C.* var *DEF:* er *BC.* seger *DEF: add* sua *BC.* "at si"tia *C.* 127 Var *DEF:* vard *B.* þa *F:* þar *BDE,* "þa", *parts of the letters remain C.* mykill *E:* skiotligr *B,* skiotliga mikill *C,* skiotligur mykill *D.* mykill gratr: gratur mykill *F.*

þat folk þottiz naliga tapat hafa sino lifi ef honum yrdi nockut til meins. Ferr Jon ok fram kemr er hann tekinn af iarli med mestu blido sem *heimolegr vin ok trunadar mann ok sem jarll hefer þenna mann feingit breyter hann a þann hatt med heimligum metnadi at huern t[im]a sem dravma menn koma ferr hann j ein mæli vid Jon ok lætr hann segia sier huat þenna ok þ[ann] hefer dreymt. Var her sa manna mvnr at Jon let iarllinn hafa sik vnnder hendi sier. Avkadiz iarli enn *frægdin af nyiv yfer oll lond at nv berr þat yfer hans fyrri spekt at hann segi nu alla dravma osagda. Geisadi hans tign af þessi nyiunng suo hatt at iafnvel kom hun fram firer sialfan keisarann. Flvttiz þat ok her med at einn vngr madr var kominn til hirdar jarls ok sogdu sumer at hann væri forvitri þott þat færi lagt. Þar sa j vitrer menn huerso þenna æfintyr hafdi saman borit þuiat Jon reyndiz ei⟨n⟩kanligr madr j sidferdi hæverskr ok litilatr mivkr ok maldiarfr ok æ til hallr hins betra huar sem hann var vid staddr mal manna. Herbergi hafdi hann ser ein til suefns ok þeirra sinna giorda er honum likadi þuiat huat er hann tok sinni hendi var

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Textual Notes—continued.

130 heimolegr-mann: hemoligs vinr e(da) trunadr madr, *corr. from B.* 131 metnadi *added in the left-hand margin.* 132 tima: -im- *blotched.* 133 þann: -ann *blotched.* 135 frægdin: frægd en, *editor's correction.* 143 ein *or* einn.

Variant Readings—continued.

129 Ferr *DF:* Ridr *B.* er hann *F:* ok er *BCD.* med: *add* hinnu *D, add* hinne *F.* 130 heimolegr-mann: heimuligs vins ok trunadar mannz *C,* hann uæri hans trunadar madur edur hinn meste uin *D,* hinn mesti uinur jallz *E,* heimugligur vin og trunadar madur *F.* 130–131 ok(2)-a *F:* Hefir jarl nu *BCE.* 132 koma *F: add* þa *BCD, add* fyrir hann þa *E.* 133 þenna-þann *F:* þa *C.* 134 mvnr *DEF: one minim too many B,* mun *C.* hafa: hafi *wrongly B.* sik *DEF: add* sua *BC.* 135 Avkadiz: *add* Heinreke *B,* Eygizt Heinreki *C.* iarli: *om. B.* enn frægdin: sua frẹgd enn *B,* sua frægd *CF.* af *DF:* at *CE.* berr *DF:* bere *BC,* bæri *E.* 136 segi: segde *BC.* nu: *om. BCDEF.* 137 þessi: þersarre *BCDEF.* 137–138 firer-keisarann *E:* till sealfs keisarans *BCD,* fyrer keisarann sialfann *F.* 138 var *F:* uæri *DE.* 139 jarls *EF:* jar"ll"s, *parts of the letters remain B, add* -ins *C.* hann *DEF: om. BC.* -vitri *DF:* -uitr *B.* þott *DF:* þoat *B,* þo *followed by a hole in the manuscript C,* þo *E.* þat *DF:* hann *BE.* 140 Þar sa: saa þar *BC.* vitrer: vitir *wrongly B.* "menn hu"ersu, *lower border torn away B.* þenna *F:* þerse *B.* haf"di" *C.* 141 reyndiz *DEF:* profadizst *B.* einkanligr *EF:* framarrligha *B, om. CD.* madr: *om. CD.* j sidferdi *F: om. BCDE.* 142 mi"vkr" C. ok maldiarfr *F: om. BC.* æ *EF: om. BD.* til hallr *F:* hallr till *BCDE.* 143 sta"ddr" *C.* 144 er (1) *DE:* sem *BCF.* sinni: -i *illeg. due to creasing of the manuscript B.* hendi: *add* til *DF.*

145 forkunnligt yfer fram adra menn. Var hann af þessu efni ollo saman suo vinsæll at einngi madr taladi honum lyti en marger vel.

6. Nu lidr suo hedan at Heinreki iarli likar eigi at lvta Joni suo oft helldr vill fa þessa speki sem med eignn ok bydr honum at kenna sier sagda list firer suo mykit fe ok sæmder sem sialfr vill hann· 150 En suo oft sem hann leitar efter blitt e(da) stritt suarar Jon æ sama til at hann færr eigi kennt honum þuiat hann segiz med giof þegit hafa þetta lan en eigi med list. Þar kemr at iarll reidiz davdliga þuiat hann truir at Jon firer muni honum listarinar ferr nv til rads med honum sa alldri er dygr ne vel duger at hann skal at komaz 155 listinni huat er kostar. Þui kuedr hann þat vpp einn morgin arla sem hann vaknar j sinni sæng at hann bydr fruinni er fyrr nefndum vær at hun skal taka þat sax sem þar heck vppi ok ganga lagliga j suefnhus Jons ok drepa hann sofanda kryfia hann sidan ok taka vr honum hiartad ok mat gera sidan þat sama med spad ok spiz j dagverd 33r 160 vm daginn en lykia herbergit sidan suo at þar megi eingi koma vtan hun ein þuiat skal flytiaz at Jon hafi sott feingit ok andaz vr henni ok grafaz. Þetta bod allt saman anngrar suo sart fruinnar hiarta sem hun væri lagin j gegnum en vid þui at vid liggr hennar liftion af illzsku iarlsins dregr hun sig vt af husino ok fram j þa skemmo er 165 Jon liggr j· Hann lætr sem hann sofi en hun stendr a golfino ok grætr miog sart þar til er hann vikr ordum at henni ok seger suo·

Textual Notes—continued.

159 hiartad *u.v.* 163 gegnum.

Variant Readings—continued.

145 forkunnligt: forkunnlig *BF*. fram: *om. BCD*. efni *F: om. BCD*. saman *F: om. CD*. 146 taladi *DF:* mællti *C*, talar *E*. lyti: *added in the left-hand margin C*, jlla til *E*, *add* til *F*. 147 lidr-hedan *F:* lida sua dagar, *the manuscript then breaks off C*. 148 vill: *add* hann *BDEF*. eignn *EF: probably* eigu, *though the last letter is unclear B*, eigu *D*. 149 sier *F: add* fyrr *BD*. sæmder *D:* sęmd *BF*. 150 e(da): edr *BF*. æ *F: om. BD*. 152 þetta *F: om. B*. 153 truir *F: add* sua *B*. firer muni *F:* mundi fyrer muna *DE*. 154 sa *F: add* er *BDE*. er *F:* var *BDE*. ne-duger *F: om. BDE*. hann skal: nu skal hann *BE*, *add* nu *F*. 155 arla *F: om. BE*. 156 sinni sæng *F:* sęngh sinni *B*. 157 lagliga: la/aglega *B*. 158 's'ofanda *B*. sidan: honum *BE*. 159 sam'a' *B*. med *D:* j *EF*. 161 hun *F:* hann *B*, þu *using direct speech D*. þuiat: *add* sua *B*, So *D*. hafi *DEF:* skal hafa *B*. henni *DF:* hende B. 162 ok: enn sidan *BF*, *add* sidan *D*. grafaz: *add* Enn *BF*, hafi hann grafizt· Enn D. saman *DF:* samt *B*. h'ia'rta *B*. 163 lagin j *F:* lagin j/lagin j *B*, laugd j *DE*. vid (1): medr *BDEF*. lift'io'n *B*. 164 iarlsins *F: add* þa *BD*. af *F:* or *BE*. 166 seger *DEF:* talar *B*.

fru· min s(agdi) hann· grat eigi gior helldr þat er þer er bodit ek skal huergi flyia. Vit ok þat at sa hefer meiri abyrgd er bydr glæpinn en hin er gerir navdigr. Hun s(uarar) ok suer vid guds nafnn at eigi skal hun spilla hans blodi þott þar liggi vid hennar lif þuiat med vizsku þinni s(agdi) hun er þer sialfratt at vid beitim iarl brogdum at þv hafer lif en hann þikiz hafa sinn vilia· Jon s(uarar) huat er þa annat sidan þv ert radin j· ek veit þann stad at radinn er at hondla einn storan racka tak hann ok fær mer. Sem þat er giort drepr hann rackann tekr hiartad vr honum ok bydr henni þat matgera iarlinum. Suo gerer hun streinger sidan skemuna ok ordfleyter vt j stadinn at Jon hafi sott feingit. Kemr nv þar mali at hiarta rettrinn er borinn iarli vm daginn ok hann etr en æ j millvm sem hann tekr af rettinvm sier hann nidr j gavpner sier sem profandi huer vizska hlypi at honum til dravmspekinar en þat for suo at hann lykr hunz hiartanv ok er at eingo vitrari en adr· Er þessu næst vikianda til Jons hann gerir manlikan med vax suo forkunligum hagleik ok likt sialfum sier at þar matti hann sialfr kennaz. Segiz nv fliott hans andlat efter fa d(aga) geingr fruin næst hans navdsynium ok sueipar likit adr menn koma til at gera likferdina en Jon hefer þa vist j hennar trunadi sem leyner alla menn. Vrdu þessi tidendi til hrygdar er Jon trudiz til grafar borinn ok nidrsettr suo at margr var gratandi at þeirri þionostv·

Textual Notes—continued.

177 Kemr *or* Komr. 181 eingo *or* eingv.

Variant Readings—continued.

167 eig'i' *B.* er (2) *EF: om. B.* 168 þat: *om. B.* abyr'gd' *B.* 168–169 bydr glæpinn *E:* glæpinn bydur *DF.* 169 hin: sa *BEF,* hins *D.* gerir navdigr: naudigr gerer *BDF.* 169–170 guds nafnn *F:* gud *BD.* 171 s(agdi) hun: *om. DE,* seiger hun *F.* 'h'on *B.* -ratt *DEF:* -ualld *B.* beitim: beitum sua *BD,* beitumm *EF.* 172 iarl *E: add* -inn *B, add* suo *F.* þikiz hafa *F:* hafi *DE.* 173 h'u'at *B.* þa *DEF: om. B.* ert *DE: add* þa *B.* E'k' *B.* 174 at radinn: er vist *B,* at uist *D.* 175 drepr: *apparently* drepi *B.* rackann *F: add* ok *BD.* hiartad-honum *F:* ur honum hiartat *DE.* 176 þat *F: add* at *BD.* streinger *DF: add* aftr *B.* sidan *DF:* aptur *E.* 177 ordfley'ter vt' *B.* stadinn *DEF:* stadnum *B.* feingit *DEF:* tek'it' *B.* 178 er borinn: 'er s'ettr *and an illeg. letter, possibly the abbreviation for* firir *B,* er jnn borinn· og setur fyrer *D.* millvm *DF:* millim *B.* 179 rettinvm *DEF:* rettunum *B.* sier (1) *F:* litur *DE.* pro'f'ande *B.* 180 for-at: fo- *and some eight letters cut away B.* 181 lykr *F:* lauk *DE.* hiartanv *DEF:* hearta *B.* er *F:* uar *DE.* vitrari *F:* visarre *BE.* 182 Jons *F: add* at *BD.* gerir *F: add* eitt *BD, add* einn *E.* 186 hennar trunadi *F:* trunadi hennar *B,* hennar trunadar *D.* tidendi: *add* morgum *BDF, add* morgumm mannj *E.* 188 at *DF:* af *B.*

7. NV er þar til mals at taka at keisarann j Saxlandi dreymer
190 dravm einn er honum syniz merkiligr en vill þo aunngum segia þuiat Heinrekr magr hans var nu gæddr þeirri list at hann segdi dravma alla en redi sidan ok þui metr keisarinn þann mun at bioda iarli a sinn fund helldr ridr hann sialfr med sitt hoffolk ok fram kemr. Jarlinn syner sik gladan en hefer med sier hrædda samvizsku þuiat
195 hann þikiz vita at keisarinn hefer a einn huern hatt mykit erenndi sidan hann sialfr reid. For þat fram med honum sem skrifat er at eingi hlvtr syker bradara manninn en ill mala efnni. Fruin syster keisarans verdr hiartaliga fegin hans kuamo. Sem þeir taka tal sin a milli magarner seger keisarinn sik hafa dreymt þat honum syniz
200 merkiligt ok viliu vær magr at þv tiaer oss vizsku þina er nu ferr land af landi ok seger dravm minn en þyder sidan sem efter geingr· Jarl kenner nv at hann sialfr hefer egnt þa snoro firer sinum fotum ad ovist er hversv hann forda[z]. Verdr nv hliodr ok fordiarfaz

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Textual Notes—continued.

189 NV: N *set out into the left-hand margin and decorated with pen arabesques.* 203 forda'z'.

Variant Readings—continued.

189 mals *F:* frasagnar *B.* taka: *add* og fra at seigia *D.* keisarann *EF:* keisarinn *B.* dreymer *DF:* dreymde *BE.* 190 dravm einn: eirnn draumm *EF.* 191 nu *F: add* sua *B,* so *DE.* gæddr *DF:* gręddr *B.* þeirri list *F:* þerse frægd *B,* þessarar frægdar *D,* þessarj list *E.* 192–193 þui-fund: og uill keisarinn ecki senda efter honum *E.* 192 keisarinn: *add* eigi *B.* keisarinn-mun: *add* -inn *B,* hann keisarinn sialfur eigi minne *D,* þann mun eigi keisarinn *F.* iarli: *add* -num *B.* 193 fram kemr: *add* a jarlsins gard· Vard fruin systir hans heartalega fegin hans kuamu· Enn *B, add* áa ·j· gard· Verdur fruinn han⟨s⟩ systur hardla feiginn hans funndi· Enn *D, add* aa jallsinz gard med sÿn hof follki uerdur fruinn sistir han⟨s⟩ honum feiginn enn *E,* kemur framm *F.* 194 Jarlinn *F:* Jarl *BE.* en *F:* ok *BDE.* hefer *F:* hÿlr *BD.* 195 þikiz *F: add* vist *BD.* 196 hann sialfr *D:* sealfr hann *B.* þat *DEF: add* her *B.* med honum *DF: om. BE.* skrifat *DF:* skipat *B.* 197 syker *F:* suikr *BD.* mala *F:* maal- *BDE.* 197–198 Fruin-kuamo: *om. BDE,* fruin syster keisarans verdur hiarttaliga feigin kuomu hans *F.* 198 taka tal *F:* tala *BE,* taka malefne og tala *D.* 199 a: j *BDE.* hafa dreymt *F: apparently* draumt hafa *D,* dreimt hafa *E.* þat: *add* er *BDF.* 200 ok: *add* þui *BDF,* þui *E.* viliu: vilium *BDEF.* magr *DE: add* segir hann *BF.* 201 seger *F: add* oss *BD,* seig oss *E.* minn *EF:* -inn *BD.* en-sem *F:* Enn rad sidan sem þyder og *D,* og rad þu sÿdann semm *E.* 202 kenner *D:* ser *B.* sialfr hefer *F:* hefir sealfr *BD.* 203 hversv *D: add* at *B,* huer ad *F.* Verdr *F: add* hann *DE.* for- *F:* firir *B.*

allr seger þat lan *skammętt hafa verit ok nv med ollo sik firer latid.
Keisarinn sierr med sinni vizsku at jarl vard illa vid ok þui tekr hann med sierr stodvgt at hann er bitinn af vandri samvizsku. Hann talar þa oss var flvtt at her væri einn vngr madr Jon at nafni forvitri ok vinsæll huar er hann nv. Jarl seger ad hann er davdr ok grafinn. Ok er þessar rædr fara fram sierr keisarinn at fruin syster hans hylr sinn harm ok grætr þo sart· Þui endar hann fyrst at sinni þetta mal en tekr sidan systvr sina med ein mæli *biodande henni vpp a sina
33v kvrteisi at hun lati vpp sannenndi fyrer honum þuiat vær þikivmz sia at þit hion er[u]t vlikrar samuizsku j þesso mali ok berum vær travst a at þu mvnt oss s[ann]ara segia en iarlinn. Fruin med sinum godleik var nu set millum þeirra boda er eigi voro lager. Hun sa firer huerso hennar bondi var haduliga skemdr j sinum glæp sa hun ok hversv skylldug hun var satt at boda ok frialsa saklavsan. Her kemr mali hun leysiz af þui sem hun matti minnztv vid koma seger Jon lifa ok vera j sino valldi. Keisarinn krefr þa ok ecki meira af henni vtan bydr j stad at Jon leidiz a hans fvnd. Sem þat er giort talar keisarinn helldr stygt j fyrsto ok seger suo hui ferdu svo med þer lifanndi madr grefr þik nidr j leynd ennda truiz davdr ok grafinn

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Textual Notes—continued.

204 skammętt: skam$\bar{v}$ntt?, *intended for* skamvintt, *corr. from B.* ok *u.v.* med *u.v.* 206 sierr *u.v.* 207 einn *u.v.* 208 davdr *u.v.* grafinn *u.v.* 210 ok-þo *u.v.* 211 ein-bio- *u.v.* biodande: biodiandi, *corr. from B.* 212 þikivmz *u.v.* 213 at-samuizsku *u.v.* er'u't, u *partly visible but not legible.* 214 s'ann'ara-med *u.v.* 215–216 firer-hennar *u.v.* 217 boda ok *u.v.* 218 koma *u.v.* 220 bydr j *u.v.* hans *u.v.* 221 fyrsto *u.v.* þer *u.v.*

Variant Readings—continued.

204 hafa verit: verit hafa *BDF.* 206 at: raad, -d *running into the initial letter of the following word B,* rad *E,* rad ad *F.* vandri samvizsku *F:* illri naatturu *B,* jllum anda· og uondre samuizku *D,* jllri samuisku og uondrj natturu *E.* 207 -vitri *F:* uitr *B.* 209 Ok *F:* Enn *BDE.* þessar *DEF:* þeirra *B.* fara *F:* foru *DE.* 210 Þui *DEF:* þaa *B.* 212 kvrteisi *F:* kięrlega tru *B,* kristeliga tru *DE.* vpp *EF:* vppi *BD.* þikivmz: þikunzt *DEF.* sia *F: add* segir hann *BD,* uita s: h: *E.* 213 hion *DEF:* jarlinn bondi þinn *B.* ok *F: add* þui *BD.* 214 mvnt *DEF:* matt *B.* 215 nu *DF: om. B.* millum: j millum *D,* j mille *F.* er *DF:* sem *B.* 216 hadu-: hard- *B,* hadug- *DF.* 217 skylldug-var *F:* hon var skýlldugh *BD.* saklavsan *F: add* mann *D,* saklausa menn *E.* mali: *add* at *BDF.* 218 af þui *DF:* þui af *B.* hun-minnztv: minzstu maatti *B,* minnstu matti hun *F.* 219 ok (2): *om. DEF.* meira *EF:* frammarr *B.* 221 stygt *F:* stutt *BD.* suo *DE: om. BF.* hui: þui *DEF.* ferdu *D:* ferr þu *BEF.* 222 nidr *F:* sealfr *B,* sialfan *D.*

af odrv*m*. Seg oss þui*a*t vær biodu*m* þe*r* *ok* ger einngu*an* ma*n*na mun at s(agdi) h*ann*· Jon s(uarar) þe*ss*um ordu*m* keisarans godman*n*liga sem h*a*ns nat*t*vra v*ar* t*il*. He*r*ra sege*r* h*ann*· ef eg sk*a*l g[rein]a þan*n* litla æfintyr bidr eg at þe*r* gefit me*r* valld yfe*r* eins m*anz* lifi. Keisarin*n* s(uaradi) þv e*r*t skylldbu*n*ndin*n* vpp a þin*n* hals at segia sat*t* þot*t* vær kavpi*m* þ*at* ecki at þe*r*. Jon hefr þe*ss*a fr*a*sogn þot ei væri fogr *ok* ve*r*dr þa mykill mv[nr] þei*r*ra hiona sem vt geck fr*a*savgnin·

8. Ke⟨i⟩sarin*n* vard svo reidr vid fr*a*sogn þe*ss*a at sake*r* mægda vid i*ar*lin*n* þot*t*iz h*ann* sialfr skem*d*r j þui*l*ikum glæp *ok* fo*r*dædvskap þui*a*t likt mat*t*i synaz adr nock*u*t sefaz til at logi br*e*nnandi mu*n*di iarli heim bioda. En efte*r* litin*n* þagn*ar* tima talar keisarin*n* seg nv drav*m* þann e*r* fi*r*er oss ⟨bar⟩ *ok* oss syniz me*r*kiligr þui*a*t pr*o*fat e*r* hue*r* vizska me*d* þe*r* e*r* *ok* hue*r*t hegoma fals m(ed) Hei*n*r(eki) j(arli) er. Jon s(uarar) dyrt e*r* dr*o*ttins ord he*r*ra· ydr dreymdi sem þe*r* vorvt heima j ydv*a*rri borg at þe*r* ge*i*ngit vpp j ein*n* tvrn *ok* lit*i*d nidr yfe*r* stadin*n*. Syndiz ydr sem vatna ga*n*gr ge*i*ngi svo m*y*kill j hve*r*t plaz ad stad*a*rins folki v*ar* hue*r*gi fr*i*dr me*d* þvr*r*um fæti he*l*ldr v*ar* allr lydr a vadli en þo for þ*at* vn*n*d*ar*liga þui*a*t þ*at* vatn tok m*o*nnum ymisliga. Svm*um* tok e*i*gi meir en j okla svmu*m* t*il* kness svmv*m* j miadme*r* odru*m* j belltiss stad þa en*n* a axler

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Textual Notes—continued.

223 vær *u.v.* 226 g'rein'a. 228 hefr *u.v.* 229 mvnr *inserted above the line;* mv- *u.v., one or two further letters obscured by the* k *of* mykill. 235 bar *sup. from B.* 237 ydr *or* Ydr.

Variant Readings—continued.

223 þuiat *DF:* þat *B.* 224 s(agdi) hann: *om. DE,* seiger hann *F.* ordum keisarans *F:* keisarans ordum miok *BD.* 225 Herra: *add* minn *BDF.* 226 þann: þat *BDF.* bidr *D:* bid *EF.* 227 s(uaradi): suarar *DF.* 228 þott *D:* þo at *B,* þo *EF.* kavpim: kaupum *DEF.* at þer: vaarre rikiss stiorn *BDF,* med uorrj rÿkis stiornn *E.* 229 þessa: þa *BEF,* þa upp *D.* frasogn *F: add* þessa *D.* ei *E:* eigi *BDF.* væri *DF:* sé *BE.* ok *F: om. DE.* 231 -sogn *F: the last letter probably* -u *B.* 232 iarlinn *F:* Henrek *B.* 233 þuiat: sua at *BE, add* suo *F.* sefaz: sefadizst *BF.* 234 En *F:* Ok *BE.* 235 ok *DF:* er *B, add* er *E.* syniz *EF:* virdizst *B,* syndizt *D.* 237 er (1) *F: om. B.* herra *F: om. BDE.* 238 vorvt *F:* vęrit *BD,* uærud *E.* ydvarri *EF: add* hofud *B, add* hofd^{t} *wrongly D.* 239 litid *F:* litut *DE.* yfer *D:* fÿrer *EF.* Syndiz-sem *F:* at *B,* þier syndiz at *D,* og ad *E.* geingi: geýstizst *BF,* geisadist *E.* 241 þuiat *DF: om. B.* 242 vatn-ymisliga *F:* sama var þeim ýmisslegt *BD.* 243 þa enn *F:* odrum *B.* a *D:* i *BEF.*

nockvr*um* allt t*il* mvnz suo at vatn*it* fiell vt *ok* jn*n*. E*r* nv dravmrin*n*
245 vti he*rra* seg*er* h*ann*· keisarin*n* s(uarar) fr*a*bæra vizskv hef*er* gud
gef*it* þ*er* þ*uiat* huergi vikr af rettv. En seg nv liosliga hu*erer* þ*eir*
vo*ro* er hæst*an* h*ofdu* vadilin*n*. Þ*at* v*ar* dr*ottning* ydr he*rra* *ok* sa
flæmski m*adr* er he*nni* fylgdi heim*an* sid*an* m*arger* adr*er* af hollin*ni*
ydr*er* m*ønn*. Sat*t* *er* þ*etta* ⟨segh*ir*⟩ keisarin*n* en skyr nv dravmin*n*.
250 Ef ek sk*al* rada dravm þ*enna* s(eger) Jon villda eg gi*arna* fa val*ld*
tueggia m*anna* lifs þ*uiat* suo ætta ek at ambana g*u*di giof sina at
v*erd*a ein*ngum* m*anni* at meini. Keisarin*n* seg*er* at vel v*erd*r liost
hv*err* m*adr* h*ann* e*r*· en þo mu*n*tu dravmin*n* þyda v*erd*a m*ed* ollv
kavplavst· Jon s(uarar) þ*ui* *er* v*err* at dravmr sia hef*er* vf[ag]ra
255 þyding suo at m*er* þik*er* m*yk*it f*irer* vpp at kueda en m*ed* þ*ui* at g*ud*
hat*ar* vhæf*ur* allar m*un* [ydr af þui] synt hafa v*er*it at e*igi* sk*u*li suo
lein*n*gr fram f*ara*· Ei e*r* betra v*m* at tala þ*at* er [fru y]dv[*ar*]ri
heyr*er* til en h*un* suikz f*ra* ydr *ok* hef*er* v*m* lang*an* tima leg*it* m*ed*
þ*ei*m flæmska m*anni* sinu*m* [ku]mp*an*. E*r* *ok* e*igi* feg*ra* en m*arger*
260 af ydro storm*e*nni e*ro* samvitandi þ*essa* lytis svm*er* mei[rr en*n*]
svm[er] minnr svm*er* m*ed* grvn af likendu*m* hu*erso* þav f*ara*. Tok
þ*ui* vatn*it* ymisle[ga] ad samvitand þ*essar*ar vhæfv e*r* m*ed* suo morgu*m*
stettu*m* en þ*ei*m tok divpaz [se*m*] hof[utz] m*enn* e*ro* suo liotr*ar*

Textual Notes—continued.

245 gud *or* gvd. 247 h*ofdu* *u.v.* 249 ydr*er* *u.v.* segh*ir* *sup. from B.* 250 Jon *u.v.* 251 giof *u.v.* 252 m*anni* *u.v.* v*erd*r *or* v*erdi*. 253 e*r*· *or* e*r*: 254 vf'ag'ra. 256 'ydr-þui' *sup. from B.* synt *u.v.* 257 'fru y'dv'*ar*'ri, *-ar- represented by an illeg. superscript.* 258 heyr*er* *u.v.* lang*an* *u.v.* 259 m*anni*-'ku'mp*an* *u.v.* 260–261 mei'rr en*n*' svm'er' minnr *u.v.* 262 '-ga'-samvitand *u.v.* 263 's*em*' *sup. from B.* hof'utz' *u.v.* liotr*ar* *u.v.*

Variant Readings—continued.

244 nockvrum *DF:* odrum *B.* dravmrinn *D:* draumr *BF.* 246 gefit þer *DEF:* þer gefit *B.* 247 herra: segir Jon *BD, add* seiger hann *F.* 249 ydrer menn *F:* ýdart raad *BDE.* 250 dravm *DEF: add* -inn *B.* villda *D:* villdi *B,* þa uillde *E,* þaa villda *F.* giarna-valld: eiga frialsliga at rada *D,* eiga rad aa *E,* rada *F.* 251 lifs: lifi *DEF.* ambana: launa *BE,* ǫmbuna *D,* vmbuna *F.* 252 at meini *F:* till meins *BD.* 253 muntu *EF:* mant þu *B.* þyda *F:* raada *BE.* 254 sia *F:* þerse *BE.* hefer *DEF: add* sua *B.* 255 suo *EF: om. BD.* mykit: *om. BEF.* vpp *E:* j *D,* j vpp *F.* 256 allar *F:* manna *D,* allra manna *E.* skuli: skýli *B.* 257 Ei: Eigi *BDF.* 258 en *EF:* at *B.* hefer *D:* hefur *EF.* legit *F: om. B.* 259 sinu'm' *B.* 260 yd'ro' *B.* 261 minnr: *om. wrongly B.* med *F:* af *B.* af *F:* medr *B.* 262 samvitand *F: add* ok samþýkt *B,* samuitund og syndur þicki *D.* 262–263 morgum stettum *F:* margri stett *D.* 263 stettum: stett *B.* sem *D:* er *EF.* ero *F: add* vordnir *B.* 263–264 suo-vdygdar *F:* glæpsins *D,* þessa glæpz og suo liotarar odæda *E.*

vdygd*ar* þu*i*at hu*er*n tima sem þ*er* er*v*t bravt samreckia þ[au] m*ed*
ollv. Er nv þydin*n*gin vti þot*t* e*igi* se gladlig·
34r 9. Keisarin*n* ver*d*r bædi riodr *ok* reidr vid rædu þ*e*ssa temp⟨r⟩ar
sig þo vel þu*i*at h*ann* v*ar* gudhræddr m*adr*. Jon fellr þa fr*am* m[ed]
tar*um* f*irer* h*ann ok* talar suo her*ra* min*n* haf*it* v*ars* dr*o*ttins þolinmædi
f*irer* avgu*m* ydr *ok* likiz h*onu*m j þvi at hefna ydv*ar* e*igi* þot*t* þ*er*
meg*it* helldr likn*it* at h*ans* dæmi *ok* liait þ*ei*m til v*m* bot*ar* lif *er* davda
er*o* v[*er*]der þu*i*at suo megi þ*er* mest vin*n*a at yf*er* skapravn*er* seti
þ*er* myskun*n* *ok* þolinmædi. Keisarin*n* þagn*ar* vid tavlv Jons *ok*
mykiz suo f*irer* gu*d*s vitian at h*ann* tarfellir *ok* talar sid*an* þott eg
v*æ*ra gr*i*mr j m*er* mætta eg sia Jon hu*er* þv er*t* vid þ*ann* e*r* þinv blodi
eft*er* leitadi *ok* þu*i* e*r* þ*at* liost f*irer* gudi *ok* m*o*nn*u*m ef eg sk*a*l v*er*r
ger*a* en þv suo m*y*klo sem m*er* e*r* vand*a*ra f*irer* þ*at* m*y*kla lan e*r* min*n*
dr*o*ttin*n* veit*er* m*er* *ok* þu*i* sk*a*ltv þiggia þina bæn badu*m* ockr t*il*
salvhialp*ar* þ*ar* m*ed* ger*z* form*adr* at fremia þa likn j hveriu*m* st[a]d
sem vær viliu*m* skipa. Var nv dagr miog lokin*n* stendr nv keisarin*n*
vpp [ge*i*ngr] vt af þ[ui] litla h*er*b*er*gi *ok* hef*er* Jon med s*er*. Syniz

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Textual Notes—continued.

264–265 þ'au'-nv *u.v.* 266 *ok* reidr *u.v.* rædu *u.v.* temprar *u.v.* 267 v*ar* *u.v.* m*adr* *u.v.* m'ed' *or* m⟨ed⟩: m *ends the line, there is no trace of the rest of this word, though the beginning of the next line has faded badly.* 268 min*n* haf*it* *u.v.* þolinmædi *u.v.* 269 ydv*ar* e*igi* *u.v.* 270 h*ans* *u.v.* davda *u.v.* 271 v'*er*'der, *-er- represented by an illeg. superscript.* 272 myskun*n*-Keisarin*n* *u.v.* 273 vitian *u.v.* *ok* *u.v.* 274 þinv *or* þino. 275 ver*r* *u.v.* 276 m*y*klo *or* m*y*klv *u.v.* m*y*kla *u.v.* 277 þina *u.v.* 278 likn-st'a'd *u.v.* 279 nv (1) *u.v.* 280 'ge*i*ngr', *parts of* gg *visible.* þ'ui'.

Variant Readings—continued.

264 þuiat *F: add* i *BDE.* 265 þott *D:* þoat *BF.* gladlig: gledilegh *B*, gladligt *D.* 266 bædi *E:* om. *DF.* rædu þessa *F:* reidu þersa *B*, þessa rædu *DE.* 267 þo *DEF:* þa *B.* 268 ok-suo: suo mælandi *F.* talar: męler *BE*, ·m· *D.* minn: *add* sagdi hann *B*, *add* ·s· hann *DE*, *add* seiger hann *F.* drottins *E:* herra *BDF.* 270 til-lif: lif till vmbotar *B*, til um bota *D*, lÿf til ÿfer botar *E*, lif til vmbota *F.* er *F:* sem *DE.* 271 megi *EF:* megu *B.* mest *F:* hellzt *DE.* skapravner: skapraun *BDE*, skapra- *and three minims, wrongly F.* 274 væra *F:* vęre *BDE.* mer: *add* þa *BDEF.* mætta *DF:* mętti *BE.* Jon *D: om. EF.* 275 liost *DF:* liott *B.* 276 vandara: *add* um *DF.* 277 skaltv *DEF:* skallt þu *B.* 278 -hialpar: botar *BDE*, -hialpa *F.* gerz *DF: add* -þu *B*, giorstu *E.* hverium *DF:* huarum *B*, sier huorum *E.* 279 lokinn *F:* lvtinn *B.* nv (2): þa *B, om. DEF.* keisarinn *E: add* þa *D*, *add* nu *F.* 280 geingr *F: om. BDE.* vt af: or *BDE.* Jon *EF: add* i ferd *B*, *add* j faur *D.* Syniz *DEF:* Syndizst *B.*

her nv vndarligr hlutr sem hann se af davda reistr. Keisarinn er hliodr ok harmandi med sialfvm ser ok sem næst[a] not lidr af bydr hann at jarlinn se gripin ok leiddr firer hann. Syner keisarinn honum þa vnderstodu sins mals biodandi honum vpp a sitt halsbein at segia allan veg þeirra Jons hverso farit hefer. Er nu suo *dreingt at iarlinvm þoat liott væri at hann hlytr opinberliga at segia alla sogv þeirra Jons ok sem þat er endat bidr Jon þa enn firer honum at hann fai l[i]f ok limv. Keisarinn seger at þat skal þiggiaz firer hans bæn jatar at þat muni satt at Jon eigi mest valld a lifi iarls ok skal hann lata bva honum eitt skip svo alvarliga brvtt vr Saxlandi at hann komi þar alldri sinum fæti. Sem þat er giort skipar keisarinn Joni at sækia til sinnar hofutborgar ok taka med skilrikum vattum þa illifiss menn sem [fyrr] var fra sagt ok fa þeim skip or landi heim til sinnar att iardar en keisarinn segiz munv bida j sama stad þuiat hann vill eigi fyrr heim j sina borg en hun hreinsaz adr af svo myklo grandi. Vill hann ser þat spara at skrifta þeim efter atvikum ok mala vexti er samnetiaz hafa greindri illzskv. Skipar hann J[o]ni þa menn af sinni fylgd til vætiss sem honum hofdu alldri brugdiz j trunadi. Ferr Jon ok fram kemr stillir suo klokliga sinn veg at a nattar þeli kemr hann j stadinn geingr vpp j þat lopthus sem

Textual Notes—continued.

281 sem hann *u.v.* af-reistr *u.v.* 282 naest'a' *u.v.* lidr af *u.v.* 284 vnderstodu sins *u.v.* 285 hverso-hefer *u.v.* dreingt: dreignt, *corr. from B.* 287 enn *u.v.* 288 l'i'f. 289 muni *u.v.* 290 brvtt *or* brott. Saxlandi *u.v.* 293 menn *u.v.* 'fyrr' *sup. from B.* var-sagt *u.v.* or *u.v.* 295 sina-hun *damaged by a tear in the manuscript.* 296 *ok u.v.* 297 Joni: o *blotched.*

Variant Readings—continued.

281 nv *F: om. DE.* reistr *F:* risinn *DE.* er *F:* var *DE.* 282 harmandi *E:* harmadi *DF.* sialfvm ser *DEF:* ser sealfum *B.* 283 Syner *EF: add* þa *B.* 284 þa *DF: om. BE.* mals *F:* maalefnis *BE,* malsefnis *D.* vpp *DEF: om. B.* 286 þoat-væri *F: om. BD.* 286–287 hlytr-ok *F:* segir opinberlega þo at liott vęre *B,* s· opinberliga þott liott uæri· og *D,* giorir hann þad opinnberlega þo liott uæri *E.* 288 limv *F:* limar *BD.* 289 jatar-satt: og ·s· *DE,* Jatar og ad þad mun satt *F.* muni: man *B.* at (2) *D: om. EF.* iarls *F: add* -ins *B.* ok *F: add* þui *BD,* þui *E.* hann *DF: om. B.* 290 lata *F: om. BD.* svo *F: om. BD.* alvarliga *DF:* skiotlega *B.* 291 þar: *add* sidan *B.* sinum *F: om. B.* 292 sinnar: si/innar *B.* 293 fra *DF:* af *B.* 294 sinnar-iardar: ættgarda sinna *E,* sinna ættjarda *F.* att: ætt *D.* 295 heim *F:* koma *BD, add* koma *E.* hreinsaz *F:* er hreinsut *D,* uar hreinsud *E.* adr *F: om. DE.* 297 -netiaz *F:* eignazst *B.* hann *DEF: add* þa *B.* 298 þa *DF: om. BE.* honum *DEF: add* sealfum *B.* 300 lopt- *F: om. DE.*

drotninngin var von at sofa j efter tilsogn kongsins manna þyddiz suo vadillin sem Jon hafdi sagt at þar lagv þav uansignvt bædi samt þar tekin halldin ok a skip rekin efter forsavgn keisarans. Suo forv þav ok komu alldri aftr.

10. Efter þetta lætr Jon blasa keisara lvdri ok bodar ollvm borgar lyd a eitt mot. Þar stendr Jon vpp ok talar bædi sniallt ok satt erenndi til þeirra huerso þeir voro *skemdir j liotri odygd vid sinn herra seger þeim þo verst sama er mestan heidr hallda af sialfum honum ok hann treyster bezt kuedr a sidan mann af manni huat hann hefer eignaz meira e(da) minna af þessum vantrunadi seger þeim einnga adra lifs van nem[a] þeir avsi sitt hofut molldu ok dufti gangandi vtan stadarr berfætter moti keisaranum sem hann kemr nærri. Ok saker þess at menn skildu sinna sekt ok sa med þessum
34v manni Joni bædi vitrv ok frabæran godvilia taka aller fegner hans rad. Þar a Jon ecki leingri duol vikr aftr til keisarans ok seger honum sin erendislok· Lypter keisarinn þa sinni ferd en er hann nalgaz stadinn fara borgarmenn alla leid med sino mali sem Jon hafdi til lagt fara fram berfætter harklædder ok askader honum til fota jattandi sinn glæp enn beida myskunnar ok hana fa þeir þuiat gott hiarta var firer sidan suo var leitad. Var nv þui likt sem hatid

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Textual Notes—continued.

302 uansignvt *damaged by a tear between* a *and* n. 307 skemdir: skemdr, *corr. from B.* 310 e(da) *u.v.* 311 nem'a'. 314 vitrv *or* vitro *u.v.* 320 hatid *u.v.*

Variant Readings—continued.

301 von *F: add* j *B.* j *F: om. B.* kongsins: keisarans *B*, kongs *F.* 302 uansignvt bædi *F:* vansignodu będi *B*, bædi uansignud *D.* 303 þar *F: om. B.* tekin: *add* ok *B.* halldin: *om. DF.* rekin *D: add* og halldin *F.* 305 þetta *F:* þat *BDE.* borgar: ·K· *D*, kei· *F.* 306 Þar-Jon: hann stendur *E.* Jon vpp: hann vpp *BD*, vpp Jon *F.* bædi sniallt *EF:* sniallt będi *B.* 307 þeir-skemdir: skemdir þeir voru *BD*, kennder þeir voru *F.* 307–308 sinn herra *DF:* keisaran *BE.* 308 hallda *F:* hafa haft *D*, hafa *E.* 309 treyster *EF:* treysti *BD.* a *DF: om. B.* mann-manni *F:* a mann ok mann *B.* 310 e(da): ok *B*, edr *DF.* þessum *DF:* þeim *BE.* vantrunadi: *add* og *D*, uantruudu og *E*, vantrunadinum *F.* 311 adra: *om. DE.* adra-van: lifs von adra *B*, von lifs adra *F.* molldu ok *F: om. BD.* dufti *DF:* dupta *B.* 312 gangandi *F:* ok gangi *BDE.* vtan-berfætter *F:* berfęttir vt af stadnum *BE*, berum fotum burtt af stadnum *D.* moti *F:* mot *B*, j mote *DE.* 313 ok sa: visa *wrongly B*, enn sau *DF*, enn þeir sau *E.* þessum *D:* þeim *EF.* 314 vitrv: uizku *DEF.* 315 Þar-Jon *F:* A Jon þar *BD.* leingri *F:* leingr *B.* 316 þa *D: om. EF.* 317 alla leid *F: om. DE.* mali *E: add* alla leid *D.* 318 lagt: laghit *BD.* fara *F:* Falla *B*, falla þeir *DE.* berfætter *F: add* og *DE.* 319 fa *DF:* fengu *BE.*

risi vpp eft*er* dim*m*a not*t* *þui*at sakader v*oro* *leyst*i*r* *ok* t*il* frelsis aftr leidd*er* *þe*ss sem *þei*r v*oro* adr fr*a*leidd*er* f*irer* sina syn*n*d *ok* vvizskv. Fieck Jon suo m*yk*la sæmd af *þessum* malu*m* ollu*m* jaf*n*samt sem nv hafa savgd v*er*it s*em* e*igi* *er* avdvellt at greina. Gaf keisarin h*onum* jarldom *ok* r*iki* eft*er* Heinrek *ok* *þar* m*ed* syst*ur* sina. V*ar* *þat* einmællt at nv væ*ri* hun betr gift.

11. A ein*n*hu*er*n tima sem *þei*r satv bad*er* samt keisari*n*n *ok* j*arl* spyr keis(arin) jarl heimoliga huad*an* af h*ann* hefdi *þegit* suo m*yk*la giof fr*a*bær*ar* vizskv yf*er* ad*ra* m*enn*. Jarlin*n* s(agdi) at *þess* hatt*ar* hl*u*tr hefdi leg*it* a mod*ur* ætt h*a*ns at jafna*n* hefdi nock*ur* v*er*it f*o*rspar þo ek hafa *þar* meira af *þegit* en ek veit hafa haft mina ætt*m*enn *ok* *þui* ma eg *þat* ong*um* k*enn*a. V*ar*la feck jarl orlof heim t*il* r*iki*s sin*s* svo var keis*aranum* kiært t*il* h*a*ns en þo fiekz *þat*. Sid*an* vti v*ar* brvdlavps timi g*er*diz *þei*rra hof m*ed* allri heimsin*s* mekt *ok* v*ir*din*n*gv. Tok h*ann* sid*an* fag*ra* la*n*ndzstiorn lofadr af hu*er*ri tv*n*ngv f*irer* sit*t* frielsi *ok* fr*a*bæra vizskv. Skiptv þa skiot*t* fad*er* *ok* mod*er* bvstodu*m* letv lit*id* þorp en toku jmot vænazsta kastala m*ed* riku*m* eignu*m* *ok* lykr suo *þe*ssi s[o]gv at h*un* gefr godu*m* m*o*nnu*m* *þat* dæmi at þola nock*ut* en hefna sin e*igi* j hv*er*iv*m* lvt [en b]ida svo g*u*ds *þui*at h*ann* ma v*m*slet*t*a *þegar* h*ann* vill. H*a*ns nafn se blezat at eilifo.

Textual Notes—continued.

321 leyst*i*r: leyst[1], *corr. from B.* frelsis *or* freesis (*sic*). 328 he$^{i}_{m}$oliga. 336 frielsi *or* frelsi. 338 s'o'gv. 339 'en': *nothing visible, but a space for two letters.* 'b'ida *u.v.* 340–341 Hans-blezat *damaged by a tear in the manuscript.*

Variant Readings—continued.

321 til *F: add* þers *BD.* 322 þess *F: om. BDE.* voro- fraleidder *F:* hofdu tapat *BDE.* 323 vvizskv: ᵛitzsku, *the superscript very faint B.* 324 jafn-: *om. BDF.* eigi: ei *DEF.* 325 jarl- *F:* jallz *DE.* ok (2) *DEF: om. B.* 326 ein- *D:* nu *B.* nv-hun *F:* hon vęre *BE,* hun uar/ *and* nv *in the right-hand margin D.* gift *F: add* enn fyr *DE.* 327 A: *om. EF.* -huern *F: om. BE.* sem: er *EF.* þeir satv *EF:* þeir sitia *B,* sitia þeir *D.* jarl *EF: add* -inn *B.* 328 jarl: *om. B,* hann *EF.* af *D: add* at *B.* 329 Jarlinn: Jarll *EF.* 330 a *F:* j *BDE.* forspar *F:* forsynn *B,* framm synir *E.* 331 þo: þott *BE, add* at *DF.* hafa (1): hafi *BDEF.* þar *F: add* af *DE.* af *DF: om. E.* þegit *DF: add* sagdi hann *B.* ek veit *F: add* nokkorn *B,* eg uita nockurnn *D,* nockur *E.* hafa-ættmenn: hafa haft minna ętt manna *BD,* hafi haft minna ætt manna *E,* myna ættmenn hafa haftt *F.* 332 þui *DEF: add* ok sem ek sagde fyrrum *B.* eg *EF: add* ecki sem eg sagda fyr *D.* þat *D: om. B, add* semm eg sagdi fir *E, add* sem eg sagda *F.* jarl *E: add* -inn *BF.* 332–333 rikis sins *F:* sins rikiss *BD.* 333–334 vti-timi *F:* brudlaups timi þeirra keisara systur var vm geingin er *B.* 334 gerdiz *F: add* medr *B, after which the manuscript breaks off.* 335 lanndz- *F:* land *DE.* 336 fader *F: add* hans *DE.* 338 þessi: þessari *DEF.*

ON MOTIVES AND LITERARY SOURCES IN GERMAN HEROIC LITERATURE

The nature of heroic poetry is difficult to determine, and much has been written on the theme; some of these writings deal primarily with the theoretical aspect, others are more concerned with the details of the transmission of individual works, but the two things cannot be separated. A certain degree of agreement, or acceptance, was reached when Andreas Heusler published his findings on the *Nibelungenlied*: the views he expressed, both on this particular work and on the nature of the genre it represented, were recognized as such an advance on those previously current that further discussion was silenced for some time; an important part of Heusler's contribution was that he argued from preserved works of literature, whereas his predecessors had tended to base their conclusions, largely theoretical, on less precise evidence. The appearance of Hermann Schneider's *Die germanische Heldensage*, the first volume of which was published in 1928, confirmed the position. The stability thus attained has not lasted, however, and there have been now for some years many criticisms of Heusler's findings and, to some extent also, of his methods, in that he is accused of undue rigidity and excessive conjecture without textual basis.

This is the general background against which the remarks in the following pages are placed, and in view of the continuing gaps in the transmission of the texts, without which no certainty can be achieved, any such remarks are bound to contain a considerable subjective element. The more immediate background, however, is not that the problem has become so topical and immediate in its interest, but that I am now in a position after much delay to publish the result of some work on one aspect of the problem; this work is largely practical, in the sense that it is mainly concerned with one particular work of literature, and not with a genre, and to that extent may be said to have a rather more objective basis than some.[1] On the other hand the poem itself is a representative of a genre and cannot be discussed entirely in isolation, and in fact it is not so discussed; as must inevitably happen in any such work there are many conclusions which are based, either consciously or unconsciously, on foundations which are formed and shaped according to one's attitude to the nature of the genre to which the individual work belongs. The Introduction to the edition contains no more on these general questions than was immediately essential to the specific problem, although there may well be cases where the omission of any such discussion could make the conclusions drawn appear somewhat arbitrary; a few years ago they would not have had this appearance, but the changed approach which characterizes

[1]An edition of the text, with historical introduction, of the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*.

present-day criticism is such that an editor must at some point state in general terms his attitude to these general questions. Further, any work which has the *Hürnen Seyfrid* as its object must of necessity be directed in the first instance, and perhaps primarily, to the late mediaeval period and is bound to take cognizance of the late mediaeval versions of other heroic poems. This aspect of the problem has never received much close attention in studies of heroic literature, partly because it is overshadowed by the aesthetically superior works of earlier periods—"Kehren wir in heldischere Luft zurück!" Heusler said at the conclusion of his short section on the *Hürnen Seyfrid* in *Nibelungensage und Nibelungenlied*—but it is able to add valuable new data and thus produce fresh evidence to bear on the question of principle.

A central part of the discussion is, of course, the extent to which "Heldensage" belongs to the history of literature; it is stated as a principle by Heusler, and was made a basis for his book by Hermann Schneider; whereas now, on the other hand, Hans Kuhn has made it appear at least quite tenable that there was "Heldensage" "before and outside" literature, and Schneider has expressed a limited acceptance of this view;[2] and in a review of K. Wais, *Frühe Epik Westeuropas und die Vorgeschichte des Nibelungenliedes*, W. Mohr has suggested that there are occasions when it would be better to use the word "Sage" to account for the mass of differing details that would appear to have been current than to postulate so many different specific lays, or poems of some kind.[3] I have expressed a reservation against the desirability of this use of "Sage" in my report in the *Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*.[4]

There is an obvious danger when discussion turns on such terms as "Dichtung" and "Sage" that critics will soon find themselves arguing at cross purposes; it should, however, be possible to achieve a reasonable degree of unity on what "Dichtung" can be held to mean in the present discussion without any arbitrary disregard of accepted terminology.

To begin with, should one be guided in any degree by whether the works in question were written down or not, even though the two words "Dichtung" and "literature" imply, etymologically, this medium? If so, we are faced by the difficulty of deciding whether this were at all feasible among the Teutonic tribes at the time of the Migrations; it is of importance too for the later period when there is no doubt that compositions were committed to writing. For Grimm, of course, these early compositions were not deliberate, conscious, creations, and so the question of writing them down does not apply: they might equally well be called growths, in that he regarded them as reflections of what interested and moved the common people, and which, presumably, they pieced together until in the course of time a continuous story resulted. That is an

[2]Hans Kuhn "Heldensage vor und ausserhalb der Dichtung," in *Edda, Skalden, Saga. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Felix Genzmer*, pp. 262–78. H. Schneider, "Einleitung zu einer Darstellung der Heldensage," *PBB* (Tübingen) 77 (1955), 1, pp. 71–82.

[3]*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, 68 (1955), 1, pp. 7–20.

[4]Vol. xvii, p. 311.

extreme view and has not awakened much sympathy among scholars at any time.[5] The really important thing is not whether, or how, they were committed to writing, but how they were composed; the further question, of how they were transmitted, is answered, in part at least, by the answer to the first question. Now, as when discussion on this theme started, we are dependent on conjecture: we have evidence from contemporary observers that lays were recited, and some very limited evidence of their subject-matter, but none of their form or method of composition. Nor, of course, have we anything preserved from the period of composition—assuming that the poems were composed at a period not far removed, say some thirty years, from the events or persons commemorated. This is important in that it serves as a reminder that although opinions on these matters change, the evidence has not changed: substantially the same facts about these things were known to Grimm as to Heusler, and as are known to us today; it is not possible in the very nature of things to assert in the same way that our knowledge of the nature of poetry has not increased, for the knowledge of the nature of poetry can never be of the concrete kind that the knowledge of the form of the lay could. The result is that whatever changes have taken place in our view of the ancient lays they are subjective rather than objective, and that with whatever assurance it is stated that this or that is inherent in the nature of the lay, or that a lay about a person could *sui generis* not have contained certain features, we still lack the contemporary text which could finally establish the truth or otherwise of these assertions. Grimm knew the *Edda* and *Beowulf* and the *Hildebrandslied*, but his views on the Volkslied were determined, or at least influenced, by the prevailing ideas of the period; but whose views on any subject are not so influenced? For many years now we have been accustomed to look at these, and other, things in a more individualist manner, and this goes far towards defining what we now mean by "Dichtung" or "literature." For the immediate purpose the important thing is that we do not now regard it as something which simply grows: whether it is an epic or a Volkslied we now look for an individual creator. It is immaterial whether we can identify the person by name or not; whether it is *Dû bist mîn, ich bin dîn* or *Heidenröslein* we consider them to be the result of "art," a composition by a skilled craftsman who may or may not be a master of the art that conceals art, but who nevertheless is a specialist, a person with particular qualifications which place him in a privileged position.

Closely connected with this point of view is the other, namely that these heroic poems are not popular poetry at all, but essentially aristocratic in theme; they are not historical writings, in the sense that they set out to present a factual record of a particular event, but they pre-suppose a knowledge of, and an interest in, such events and, more particularly, the principal persons

[5]Lachmann refers in his *Über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Gedichts von der Nibelungen Noth* to Grimm's "wunderlicher Ausdruck" (p. 87) and to "wunderliche Vorstellungen" (p. 89).

concerned in these events. One can, it is true, dispute the view that the author is a skilled and specialist craftsman—it is a conclusion which those who hold the view deduce from an analysis of the poetry preserved and its nature—but scarcely the second statement. Not many of the old lays have been preserved, but common to all that have been, either directly or indirectly, is the circumstance that they deal with the great figures of the time, be they rulers or be they others of such outstanding personal qualities (and in the society of that time this means courage and strength) that they attain to eminence in consequence of their deeds.

Such evidence as we have points then to these stories being in the form of lays of an essentially aristocratic outlook, composed according to strict principles of form, by men with specialist qualifications; that is what I understand, at least in the present context, by "Dichtung", or "literature", and how I shall use it in this article and have used it in my work on the *Hürnen Seyfrid*; I think it is how the words are understood by other workers in the field. The evidence is, admittedly, small in volume, and we know that much must have been lost; we are also aware that much of what we say is conjectural—although we claim that it is firmly based—and we are aware of Bédier's "où sont les textes?" and that the obvious answer in so many cases is that they are lacking. Such considerations, however, take us far beyond the scope of the present article and strike at the roots of our study of mediaeval German literature, so much of which is based on conjecture—just as so much of Germanic philology (in the narrower sense of the word) is so based. The answer to such criticisms is surely that the preserved works of literature—and this applies equally to the later mediaeval period—so frequently contain within themselves allusions and references to other works, contemporary and earlier, that they cannot be said to stand in isolation: to treat them "just as they stand" may be all very well as an initial approach and for the purpose of introducing them to students, but to insist on remaining in that position is to close one's eyes to an important and integral part of the works and in fact leads to a false picture and appreciation. The *Nibelungenlied* was not an entirely fresh creation of the early thirteenth century: the author, and his audience, knew more than is expressed in the poem, and his effect, and thus the literary value of his work, was in part determined by the associations he aroused in the minds of his hearers, and it is essential for the formation of a just appreciation of the literary quality of his work to take these indirect factors into consideration; and that involves conjecture. It is similar with the other works in the field, whether epic or lay.

It is, admittedly, a dangerous undertaking, and it becomes all too easy to produce a picture of things more in accordance with what, according to our theories, they should be like, than with what they actually were. Accusations of having in fact done this are made: at the moment Heusler is thus accused, although those who make this accusation are themselves accused of doing exactly the same thing. The risk, however, must be taken: these works

cannot be studied "just as they stand" and an attempt must be made to interpret the evidence, which certainly exists, that the extant works give of the other works with which they are related, and which would have been known to contemporaries. In doing this we must also form, and maintain, an impression of the nature of the genre; this is not easy in consequence of the nature of the transmission. Yet much of our evidence points in one direction; it is neither complete nor conclusive, but unless one makes use of what there is, no progress at all can be made. Heusler's great contribution consists in having made just such an attempt. It is true that one could reproach him on some counts with stating with overmuch confidence things which lack the evidence of fact, and which are really conclusions and deductions of his own; but most of the criticisms which can be made are on questions of detail rather than of principle. Most scholars today consider that he was too reluctant to admit that there is much innovation in the *Edda* poems, and I have always thought his earliest *Brünhildlied* was too long and that the details of Siegfried's earlier adventures would have played a part, if at all, only in allusions during the real action.

None of these objections, however, does anything to shake the basis of the structure, and this basis, or part of it at least, is the simplicity of construction of the lays and the smallness of their number. This is to be regarded as part of the theory that Heldensage belongs to the field of history of literature; there was not an indeterminate number of stories about Siegfried or Dietrich or Hildebrand, if only because there was not an infinite supply of people who could compose these stories. No doubt their deeds were widely known and many an obscure warrior, relating his experiences to others, may well have included reminiscences of the great men. But just as today, so then, this casual conversational material would not have been recorded; what was recorded was what was put into controlled form, and in those days, as in these, the mastery of form was an acquirement: everyone is entitled to try his hand at writing poetry, but it is only a few who achieve success and produce results which establish their position at the time and maintain it afterwards: in other words, write literature. No doubt there were popular tales about these people and events, too, and the possibility that such tales may have supplied material to the poet who was writing a strictly constructed formal poem cannot be denied. And this possibility, and the denial of it, has always been a controversial point.

Throughout my study of the *Hürnen Seyfrid* I have acted on the basis, and drawn conclusions accordingly, that there were a limited number of poems about Siegfried and that each of them was the deliberate creation of an individual poet and that each of them continued for some time after composition to be recited in the form in which it was originally composed; and in the Introduction to my edition I adduce evidence in support of my views that there is some evidence of a concrete nature that such poems did in fact exist. That evidence is literary: by deduction from the poem as preserved, by reference to other works of literature, and the mention, also in literary works (short poems),

of titles. It is true that by limiting myself to this evidence I may be excluding other sources, of a more popular kind; for example, the relators of popular tales, for fireside entertainment, may well not have felt themselves bound to adhere to the stricter form of the poem and could have felt themselves at liberty to introduce the hero of one of these formal literary works into, for example, a local legend; the name of the hero may then become firmly fixed in this legend (in which he originally played no part) and this legend, with the name of the hero thus attached to it, may become known in proper literary circles, and the unauthentic adventure could then find its way into a formal poem. These are very real possibilities, but they cannot well be more, in the absence of concrete evidence where we can actually see the process.

There exists of course such concrete literary evidence of formal works about the hero Siegfried, in the allusions of Middle High German writers and in the fuller accounts preserved in Norse sources, and these were presumably composed according to the normal literary rules; but the exact relationship between them remains unknown. Those that deal with the same event, and when the account is sufficiently full for it to be possible to draw comparisons, reveal, it is true, certain differences of detail, sometimes quite significant differences; but these stories are widely separated in time and place, so much so that the differences could be regarded as less significant than the similarities. Some of these similarities are in fact exact correspondences and, furthermore, in central and fundamental elements of the story, and this is not consonant with popular fireside story-telling: it argues strongly in favour of the adherence to a strict literary tradition. It is true that the decision whether the similarities and the conservatism of the tradition outweigh the changes is a subjective one, and this can be well illustrated by one particular example. The circumstances in which Siegfried is sent out and then kills the dragon are related in full, or at least in some detail, in the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* (*c.* 1500), in the *Thidrekssaga* (thirteenth century), and in the much earlier form which is represented in *Reginsmal* and *Fafnismal*; each of these versions has features peculiar to itself, and these argue in favour of considerable independence in the approach of the authors of each, but the similarities are equally striking. They would be so in any case, but in view of the differences in time and place they strongly support the view that there was a common "literary" source for all these versions, a work of a creative artist which was treated and respected as such, being transmitted from generation to generation with great piety. I deal with this question at some length in the Introduction to my edition: here I am concerned with stressing the principle.

Another case in point is the *Hildebrandslied*. In the histories of literature one finds the Old High German version and the late mediaeval printed poem set side by side as an example of how the old heroic poetry has become vulgarized, how the high seriousness and tragedy of the old period have given way to light entertainment and happy ending in the fifteenth-sixteenth century, and many of us stress this in our lectures—and quote the *Hürnen Seyfrid* too.

This, however, does not alter the fact that from the ninth century, perhaps from even earlier, until the end of the fifteenth, another story remained recognizably the same. The alterations are, admittedly, considerable, and here again it is a matter of individual judgement whether one finds these more significant than the retentions, not of incidentals but of fundamentally important features such as the taunt about the undamaged armour and the striking of the treacherous blow. Here, as with the *Hürnen Seyfrid*, I am struck by the retentions and see again an example of a single work of creative art which has been piously handed down with due respect for the achievement of the author. These two cases are the only two where we have the late mediaeval version to put side by side with the Germanic original (reconstructed in the case of Siegfried), and it is not possible on the basis of so little evidence to draw final conclusions; but here again we have the same phenomenon of the limited evidence nevertheless agreeing and pointing in the same direction: close adherence to the basic form and outline, with drastic reduction of the serious, or even tragic, element in favour of the happy ending. For the present enquiry it is only the former, formal, aspect which need concern us, and it brings us to the parting of the ways in the contemporary approach.

Although these two poems are in their way unique, in the circumstances of their transmission, there are others which have similarities, and two of these are at the very centre of the controversy over Heusler's theories: the *Brünhildlied* and the *Atlakvida*. I have above entered certain reservations in detail about the reconstruction of the original form of the former, but the real point at issue is not one of detail, but of the general principle whether one can accept the singleness of source. All considerations of the development of lay into epic apart, which do not concern us here, the question is, was there one single source for each of the two parts of the completed *Nibelungenlied*, or were there two, as Schneider has postulated for the first part,[6] or were there several, as Wais thinks? Heusler was concerned with the period before and down to the time of the *Nibelungenlied*, and on aesthetic grounds there is every reason for concentrating on this period; but the later poems cannot be dismissed. By virtue of the very fact that they exist, as well as by what they contain (where this is known) they add considerably to our knowledge of the transmission of such literature, and they add valuable support to Heusler's view of the singleness of line; and they do this, moreover, in cases where the issue is not obscured by the recasting into epic form.[7]

When one starts to postulate lays one is to that extent safe that one cannot be refuted, and that applies also to the very sober and limited way in which Schneider did this; but equally one cannot conclusively establish one's point.

[6] *Die deutschen Lieder von Siegfrieds Tod*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1947.

[7] I have stated in my article "The Early Printed Versions of Mediaeval German Heroic Literature," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 39 (1956), 1, p. 105, that I can see no evidence for the statement that the *Hürnen Seyfrid* is an abbreviated version of a lost epic.

Nor, of course, could Heusler, but there is a fundamental difference in the two approaches. Heusler conjectured too, and boldly, but he did at least have firm ground under his feet at the beginning and the end: there must have been a middle, and he supplied what many of us still think is a middle which is reasonably consonant with the beginning and the end. Where he ventured on to insecure territory was in dividing the middle into stages for which there is little concrete evidence, but the fact still remains that these stages remained in the direct line of descent from the beginning to the end—the singleness of line to which I have just referred.

It is as much as anything this simplicity which is now called in question, and it is of course true that not all problems were solved by Heusler's structure. A step away from this was taken by Schneider (op. cit.) when he attempted to explain the discrepancies in the first part of the *Nibelungenlied* by postulating the existence side by side of two different versions of the same story, or of fundamentally the same story; such a thing is perfectly possible, and similar ideas had been put forward by Kralik in his *Sigfriedtrilogie*, and Becker would appear to envisage the same sort of thing in the case of the *Rosengarten*.[8] In the case of the *Rosengarten* one has in fact different extant versions of the same story which give every appearance, if not of having been written at the same time, at least of having been current simultaneously; but in the case of the *Nibelungenlied* we are again faced by the old difficulty of having no concrete evidence. There are irreconcilable discrepancies in the *Nibelungenlied* and these could have arisen by the author having tried to combine these two different versions, and Schneider makes a plausible case for the content of these two parallel versions—but the fact remains that they are two versions which have been reconstructed out of the *Nibelungenlied* as it stands, and there is nothing outside the *Nibelungenlied* to tell us anything about them—or that they even existed.

In the distance covered, as it were, this is not a drastic departure from Heusler, but there is this difference in the kind of approach, in the departure from the single-line structure, and in the reconstruction of conjectural works *from one end only*. The step, however, is taken with great circumspection and with a very limited objective and—and this again must be stressed—with an ever-present regard for "literary realities," to use a term which Schneider himself had stressed the importance of years before in his *Germanische Heldensage*, in the double sense of having due regard for the form of poem which we regard as acceptable for the genre and the time, and of the relation of theme and subject-matter to contemporary German literature. It is on this point of "literary realities" that not all critics exercise such restraint, and the recent investigations of Kurt Wais, *Frühe Epik Westeuropas und die Vorgeschichte des Nibelungenliedes* are a case in point. Such lays as Wais postulates may well have existed—and there is ample evidence that there was not in mediaeval

[8]H. Becker, *Spottlied, Märchen und Heldenlied vom Rosengarten*, VEB Niemeyer, 1955.

literature the rigid adherence to models that we would demand today from copyists or reciters, and in consequence the same story will in all probability have been told in varying forms, but this is not the same as saying that there were so many individual and separate lays. The alteration of a motive, or a detail, is one thing, a different poem is another; and it is with poems, as the individual creations of authors, that we as historians of literature are dealing. It is important to distinguish clearly between the component elements of a work of literature and the finished product, and much work on heroic literature has been gravely handicapped by the failure to do this. Individual motives do recur in works not only widely separated in time and place, but in kind also, and in such a way that the question of influence of one on the other cannot arise, and the study of these motives and their occurrence is the concern more of the folk-lorist than of the historian of literature. The latter must look not only for the motives, but for the characteristic sequence of motives and situation which make the finished literary product: if these sequences recur elsewhere, then one may consider the possibility of literary influence. If one looks only at the individual motives the possibilities that are opened up are almost limitless.

Examples are: the only sword that will kill the monster being found by the hero at the site of the combat occurs in *Beowulf*, *Hürnen Seyfrid*, *Wigalois*, just to mention three cases; the hero collapsing as if dead after the struggle (Tristan, Wigalois, Seyfrid), to mention again just three; or the trusted servant knowing whom to suggest to the king as the woman he should woo (Tristan, Siegfried, Rother). But these themes occur too in other than German literature, and with such frequency that one cannot argue that their occurrence even in works of German literature is any evidence of the dependence of one work upon another, and still less so in the case of foreign literatures. There are cases in the earlier literature on the *Hürnen Seyfrid* of this search for similar *motives*, which led to erroneous conceptions of the earlier history of this poem. It is one thing to see the origin of a subsidiary incident in a work in a borrowing from another, perhaps foreign, work, and in fact Singer and Panzer have shown that such an origin for the scene of Siegfried's death in the *Nibelungenlied* is probable, almost certain, and similarly Panzer's attribution of the Bechelaren scene to a contemporary historical reminiscence is entirely convincing;[9] it is quite another to postulate an earlier form, or stage, of the whole work from the fact that something similar is attested from another literature at about the time that this earlier form, or stage, may have been current.

A particularly welcome support for this point of view comes from the article by Wolfgang Mohr "Parallelen zwischen deutscher Dichtung des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit."[10] The author's purpose is quite different from my present purpose: he takes up again the idea of an "organic" development, in the sense

[9] *Studien zum Nibelungenliede*, Diesterweg, Frankfurt, 1945.
[10] *Euphorion* 50 (1956), 2, pp. 129–161.

that Fr. Schlegel had understood and propounded it, and of the two "Classical Periods" of the Middle Ages and modern times and seeks to show similarities in problem and treatment in some of the major works of these two classical periods. The important consideration from my point of view is that he shows the recurrence of similar motives in works of widely different kind and in widely separated periods, and in which the question of direct influence does not occur. Kleist, of course, may have known *Parzival*, but there is no suggestion that he did (and that that accounted for the parallel): on the contrary the very theme of the article is that there are certain things which do independently present themselves to creative writers at certain times. This is no new discovery, but Mohr's article comes very opportunely, at a time when critics are again tending to forget that we are dealing with the history of literature; if anyone wishes to establish a connexion between works which show certain similarities, the onus should be on him not only to demonstrate the similarities, but, especially if they are similarities in motives which do frequently recur, also to demonstrate that they occur in significant combinations and that there is very strong reason, if not positive concrete evidence, for postulating a direct influence of one upon the other or for claiming that a now lost work is reflected in an extant one. It is this which I miss in, for example, Wais's book, quite apart from the fact that the elaborate scheme of influences would be extremely difficult to substantiate even if we had extant copies of the works postulated; when one considers that a considerable number are in fact only postulated, one admires the ingenuity but regrets the lack of concrete evidence.

Mohr, too, is uneasy about this proliferation of stages, real and postulated, but it is doubtful whether his suggested alternative of using the term and the concept "Sage" would really be better;[11] it is true that it is clear from the context that this is not the "Sage" of Grimm, but a kind of compromise solution designed to meet the difficulty of keeping distinct so many unproven stages.

The difficulty is a very real one: we know from the transmission of the *Nibelungenlied* itself (the A, B, and C MSS. alone, quite apart from the later Darmstadt and Piaristen MSS.) how a work of literature can change its appearance, and we have seen, for example, how Lachmann came to conclusions about the origin of the poem which might well have been different if he had used the manuscript which is now regarded as the best. None of these modifications (in A, B, C), seen against the background of the whole poem, makes any substantial difference to the content, and we could not properly call them separate stages, but they do complicate the issue of the transmission—as, of course, do all manuscript variants. An excellent example of this was provided for us a few years ago by Jean Fourquet in his work on *Parzival*—and, given a large enough number of these variations, there can result by addition a substantial alteration in the subject matter. It is, however, doubtful whether either of these methods is the proper one with which to meet the difficulty.

[11]See above, p. 58 and n. 4.

Wais's, certainly, is based upon the recognition that Heusler's approach is too simple, in that many such details as I have just indicated are not taken into account; and to the extent that it envisages the existence of lays of which we no longer have evidence—apart from the indirect evidence of postulated influence—it is in accordance with the view that it is a matter of literary history and is to be welcomed. But its weakness is that it takes conjecture (of a kind that is fundamentally the same as Heusler's) quite out of the bounds of what can be reasonably substantiated. One thinks here of the statement by Wilamowitz which is adapted by Schneider in his *Germanische Heldensage*:[12] "Die Analogien anderer Völker zeigen uns zwar, was es alles geben *kann*, aber nicht, was es bei den Germanen gegeben *hat*."

On the other hand, to work with the word "Sage" instead of postulating a large number of poems, which have to be reconstructed, is open to objection too. On the positive side it recognizes that a body of information which can now never be more precisely determined can be built up around a hero, and it is to that extent realistic. It is conceivable that there were current at one and the same time different poems, or prose works, about one person or theme, each with their individual peculiarities (and in the case of *Herzog Ernst* we have a certain example of this), and that the public which heard them recited, or later read them, remembered, not one particular version, but a number of features from several; or, in other words, that there may have been a corpus of information about a theme, built up from several literary sources, and in turn serving as the source for others. Such a thing is possible, and there may have been such a fund of material, but quite certainly there were also formal poems and it is with formal poems that the historian of literature should be chiefly concerned: the "material" is only one of the elements the poet uses, not the poem itself. Relevant in this connexion are the poems about Dietrich von Bern, in particular the *Eckenlied* and *Sigenot*; in both we have the earlier versions and the later ones which contain additional material. They are basically similar, in that the outline of the plot remains, but in both cases fresh adventures are introduced. Are we justified here in talking of the "Ecke-Sage" or the "Sigenot-Sage"? I think not; for the additional adventures are of the conventional type for the period and have nothing about them which makes them in any way peculiar or personal to either of the heroes; the decisive step was when this common material was added to the existing story of Ecke or Sigenot, and when this was done, by an individual (be he called poet or narrator), a new poem was created. It is these points where alterations are made that we should be looking for, for they are, ideally, identifiable, even though we may now, in practice, be no longer able to identify them. Similarly with Siegfried: there was not an indeterminate "Siegfried-Sage"; originally certain stories were told about him, and these continued to be told, and then, as with Ecke and Sigenot, later generations wanted to hear more and a new

[12]Vol. I, p. 8.

adventure (of the George and dragon type) was added: the story itself was an already formed one and Siegfried was made into the hero, with the result that there were now not two stories about his youthful adventures (dragon, and treasure of brothers), but three.

We are thus faced by a rigid, perhaps over-rigid, precision on the one hand, in the case of Heusler's reconstructions, and some arbitrariness of decision; and on the other by an attempt to take account of what may well have existed in addition to what Heusler allowed, but which runs the danger of degenerating into speculations which can be neither substantiated nor disproved, or of becoming vaguely non-committal. All of these approaches can be defended, and a decision to pursue one at the expense of the others can only be made on grounds which are, if not arbitrary, at least to a large extent subjective.

Some measure of objectivity is, however, possible, although the source of it lies a little outside the field on which most critics concentrate. In all of these discussions the aim has been to discover what preceded the *Nibelungenlied* and went into its formation, and on aesthetic grounds such a limitation has its obvious justification; and similarly with the other heroic epics. In fact, however, the subsequent period might well have been taken into consideration, and profitably, for it is here that we have some concrete evidence of heroic literature being transmitted and created. It is this period, and its evidence, with which my investigations into the *Hürnen Seyfrid* have brought me most into contact. I deal with some of this evidence, as far as it concerns Siegfried, in the Introduction to my edition, and with the textual aspect of that part of it which appeared in print in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in my article in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. As far as the Siegfried material is concerned I need only recapitulate here: the Marner (writing in the middle of the thirteenth century) refers to *Sigfrides tôt* as the title of a poem which is in popular demand and twice refers to *der Nibelunge hort*, and, at the end of the century, Hugo von Trimberg refers in the *Renner* (16188 ff.) to *Seifrides wurm* and *der niblunge hort*. It is doubtful to which group *wen Kriemhilt verriet* (Marner)[13] and *Krimhilden mort* (*Renner*) belong; and I shall return to those. These are only titles and neither author gives us any information of what they contained. To put by the side of this the first-hand evidence, there is: the reference in the *Nibelungenlied* to Siegfried having killed a dragon, the heading in the Darmstadt MS. of the *Nibelungenlied* stating that he killed a dragon and acquired a horny skin (*c.* 1400), and the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* (*c.* 1500) in which the events themselves are related. Similarly with the acquisition of the Nibelung treasure, except that this is more fully related in the *Nibelungenlied* and less fully in *Hürnen Seyfrid*. From these sources we are able to form some idea of the content of these two lays; there is, however, not the same information of the *exact* content of *Sigfrides tôt*, nor the same indubitable evidence of its continued currency. The reference to *Seyfrides hochzeit* in the final strophe

[13]XV, 14, ed. Ph. Strauch.

of *Hürnen Seyfrid* is clearly to a poem which deals with the same events, in general (the period of Siegfried's married life with Kriemhild until his death), but we have not the evidence to say whether it is simply a different title for the same poem, or whether, on the lines suggested by Kralik, the *hochzeit* poem was a counterpart to the *tôt* in lighter vein; that it need not be a separate poem is, I think, shown by the use of the word *hochzeit* in the title given to the *Nibelungenlied* in the Piaristen MS. The measure of agreement here with the situation which the *Edda* poems indicate to have been the original Germanic one of three lays is striking: a dragon lay, a treasure lay, and a third in which Siegfried meets his death. This is important evidence, small in quantity it is true, but it is clear and points to the conclusion that these three lays continued to exist and be related throughout the period which we call the Middle Ages; and for all the differences between the earliest and latest identifiable forms there is a striking similarity, even identity, of structure and main outline. I regard this as very significant.

Wen Kriemhilt verriet and *Kriemhilden mort* cause more difficulty; I refer to them in my Introduction, but as there is but little likelihood that either of them is a Siegfried story, they play no direct part in that problem. Admittedly *Wen Kriemhilt verriet* could conceivably (in view of the *Nibelungenlied* canto heading *Wie Sîfrit verraten wart*) be the title of a poem dealing with Kriemhild's unwitting and unintentional betrayal of her husband: it seems hardly likely, however, and the evidence of Saxo Grammaticus, who refers to the *notissimam Grimildae erga fratres perfidiam*, lends strong support to the other, and much more likely, possibility that this is the title of a poem dealing with the death of the Burgundians. *Kriemhilden mort* is no easier to identify, and has the additional linguistic problem that the genitive *Kriemhilden* may be either subjective or objective; grammatically either is possible, but the latter is unlikely on other grounds: it could only refer to the death of Kriemhild after the slaughter of the Burgundians, but to describe that which in the *Nibelungenlied* is presented as the just execution of the *vâlandinne* as a murder would represent a change in the attitude to the whole story, as well as a different emphasis, which one can only say is extremely unlikely. To describe the death of Siegfried, for which Kriemhild could be held indirectly responsible and for which she feels guilt, as *mort* by her is also not satisfactory. If it is a Nibelungen story, then there is little doubt that it is another title of a story dealing with the Fall of the Burgundians.

I used to regard that as the most likely identification, but now, since reading Grimm's Introduction to his *Rosengarte* edition, I have doubts whether it is a Nibelung story at all. Grimm adduces examples on p. IV, taken from the text of the poem, of accusations by characters in the poem that Kriemhild was responsible for this *mort*—e.g. Rg. A 111, 4 *diu durch ir grôze affenheit daz mort zesamene treit* and D 604, 4 *den mort hât gebrûwen Kriemhilt diu künegîn* (I quote according to Holz). In the absence of more conclusive evidence no final identification can be made, and any conclusions we draw can be no

more than tentative. If *Kriemhilden mort* and *wen Kriemhilt verriet* had occurred in the same list, or even were mentioned by the same author, we would have stronger grounds for claiming that they were separate works: as it is I do not think one can go further than to say that in view of the *Rosengarten* text the title *Kriemhilden mort* would be as suitable for *Rosengarten* as for the Fall of the Burgundians. The popularity of the poem until the sixteenth century is adequately attested so that there would be no incongruity in its being thus singled out for its popularity. It must be admitted that there is no certainity that *Wen Kriemhilt verriet* is in fact the title of a poem dealing with the Fall of the Burgundians: Kriemhild is accused in the *Rosengarten* of *untriuwe* (Grimm, loc. cit.), and it is therefore not impossible that this might be another title for *Kriemhilden mort* = *Rosengarten*. I think this is less likely but I do not think it can be ruled out.

From the point of view of the Nibelung stories the evidence surveyed—and I believe it to be as complete as the preserved sources permit—points clearly to there having existed in the period after the composition of the *Nibelungenlied* four separate and distinct stories: Siegfried's adventure with a dragon, his acquisition of a treasure from brothers quarrelling over their inheritance, an account of the period of his married life ending with his death at the hands of Gunther, and the Fall of the Burgundians. That they did remain thus distinct argues strongly in favour of strict literary form and transmission and not of a vague "Sage"; I have already commented on the comparative conservatism of transmission in the case of *Hürnen Seyfrid* and the *Hildebrandslied*. Further, I maintain that the emergence, in *Hürnen Seyfrid*, of a new story in the fourteenth century[14] and its clear-cut outlines lends additional support to this view. Finally, it is evidence which must be seriously considered in discussions of the origin of the *Nibelungenlied*: the postulation of the existence of these four separate stories from the time of the Migrations is familiar and may be considered to be strengthened by this, but in general terms it argues in favour of a very limited number of stories and an extremely conservative tradition.

One further piece of evidence which is relevant to the problem of the story of Siegfried's death in particular and of the tradition of these stories in general is Hans Sachs' play *Der hürnen Sewfrid*; in this the hero is represented as meeting his death while asleep, and the view has been repeatedly put forward that this is evidence of the existence in Germany of another form of the account of Siegfried's actual killing. The chief opponent of this view was Drescher,[15] who argues that there is no need to postulate a parallel account, influenced probably by Norse sources, but that the deviation in Sachs may be adequately accounted for by the poet's own independence. It is a matter of detail and

[14]The detailed discussion of this forms an important part of the Introduction to my edition.

[15]C. Drescher, *Studien zu Hans Sachs*, I, Berlin 1891 (Acta Germanica, vol. II, No. 3).

is in the present context of no importance whether we favour his view of *Ortnit* as a second source or whether we attribute, with B. Philipp,[16] the alterations to the poet's own initiative:[17] the important thing is what might perhaps be called the realistic literary approach. All are agreed that Sachs' basic source was the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, and that this was supplemented by the use of the *Rosengarten*, for the fight with Dietrich, and there is no reason to challenge this. The disagreement arises over the significance to be attached to the apparent resemblance to the Norse versions. That there is a resemblance between a man being killed while asleep in bed and while sleeping under a tree by a spring cannot be denied, but interpretations of the significance differ widely. To quote just one example from the time before Drescher wrote, Julius Tittmann states quite emphatically: "So muss dem Dichter eine besondere Quelle vorgelegen haben."[18]

The questions are two: (1) if one accepts the necessity for another source, what was that source? and (2) must one postulate another source? The first thing to stress is that at the relevant point in the *Lied* the poet refers us for further details to another poem (the printer Johann Schröter of Basel adds a note that he hopes to print this poem as well). There is therefore a clear *prima facie* case for considering the existence of another source in which the details of the death may have been different; that this other source did exist is clear (we have the further confirmation from the Marner), but that is not to say that it differed from what is presented, apparently in extract, in the *Lied*, nor that Hans Sachs knew and used it. The other suggestion is that the specifically Norse version with the death in bed was known in Germany in the fifteenth century; no one denies that the evidence for such knowledge of the Norse versions of the Nibelung stories in Germany in the Middle Ages is at the most very slight. As we have the text of neither *Sigfrides tôt*, nor *hochzeyt*, nor of any Norse poem which may have been known, we cannot at the moment go further than say that Sachs may have known and used one of these.

To give an answer to the second question we must first briefly examine the extent to which *Lied* and the play differ. In length the play devotes an act to the event: seventy lines to the hatching of the plot and its execution, including six lines of comment by Hagen after the actual killing, followed by a further thirty-three lines by Kriemhild. The remaining lines are the Herold's concluding remarks and do not strictly belong to the action. In the *Lied* the development of the enmity may be said to begin at 173, 5, which means that here the plot and killing take up forty-four lines. In view of the different medium not a very significant increase, especially if one remembers that six of the

[16] *Zum Rosengarten*, 1879, p. xxxiv.

[17] A survey of the literature is given by Golther, *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, Halle, 1911, p. xxv.

[18] *Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. K. Goedeke und J. Tittmann, 6. Band, *Dichtungen von Hans Sachs*, 3. Teil, *Dramatische Gedichte*, hrsg. J. Tittmann, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1885, p. xxxii.

extra lines are taken up by a soliloquy by Siegfried which takes the place of a stage-direction. In the *Lied* twenty-six lines are taken up by speeches by the three brothers expressing their resentment, and two further strophes by the execution of the deed, which Hagen was ordered to do; in the play the brothers express their resentment and agree: the details of the proposal of how Seyfrid can be killed are put forward by Gyrnot, and Hagen agrees to carry out the deed. The *ordering* of the *Lied* is omitted. In the actual killing it is stated in the *Lied* that he was stabbed between the shoulders where he was not horny, by Hagen (*erstach*, and no weapon named) *ob eynem prunnen kalt*, when he *sich kült . . . mit mund und auch mit naß*; this must mean while he was leaning over the spring to drink. The place was the Odenwald; the circumstances of their going there are only expressed in the obscure lines:

Sie warn der Ritterschaffte
Geloffen in ein gesprech.

In the play he is also stabbed between the shoulders where he was not horny (*sticht*: and the weapon is stated to be a dagger), by Hagen while he is lying at the spring, asleep (he had gone *zu dem brunnen*); the circumstances of his going there are specifically stated: it was his habit, and it was known to be, to walk out into the forest after lunch to rest and sleep in the grass and flowers by the spring. The play also specifies a lime-tree as the site.

It will be immediately clear from this bald statement that there are features here which one can argue about, but it is also one of those cases where agreement is difficult to achieve; I will say at once that in my view the salient feature is the very close similarity of the two versions, and it is because of the same very close agreement throughout the play that I have, in spite of distinct differences in detail, completely ignored Hans Sachs as a possible witness in my account of the antecedents of the poem. I think, however, that it is in place for an editor to attempt to justify his point of view, and as I base myself as much on principle here as on detail it seemed to me better to include this here rather than in my Introduction.

There are other features at different points throughout the play where Sachs introduces things not mentioned in the *Lied* (apart from the fight with Dietrich), and, just as important but not so frequently stressed, things which he omits. The principal additions in the play are mentioned by Grimm in the *Heldensage* (149): that Sewfrid and Kriemhild do in fact meet at her father's court, and the mention of the death of Siglinde. Not mentioned by Grimm is the fact that the dwarf first calls Sewfrid by his name and then proceeds to name his parents, whereas in the *Lied*, although he does not do the former, Seyfrid puts forward as his reason for asking him the name of his parents the fact that he had recognized him. One could also add that Sewfrid does not just leave home, but is sent, and told he is being sent, to Worms. What are we to make of all these differences? In my estimation the answer is almost anything—or nothing—according to one's principles. If it is motives

one is concerned with, in the sense of the elements of the story, then there is ample material here: the sleeping from the *Edda*, the Linde from the *Nibelungenlied* (Grimm, *Heldensage*, 149), being sent from home to Worms could be a combination of the *vil ferr versendet* (47, 5) of the *Lied* and the deliberate setting out for Worms of the *Nibelungenlied* (once he is at Worms the acquaintance with Kriemhild follows naturally), and the always important feature of the naming of the hero. Two of these discrepancies play a significant part in the discussion of the history of the *Lied*: the verbal recognition of Seyfrid by the maiden and vice versa, although in the main part of the poem there is no mention of their having met, and in fact it is expressly stated (33 f.) that Seyfrid comes by chance across the trail of the dragon and is only informed of the presence of the abducted maiden when he meets the dwarf; and Seyfrid's ostensible reason for asking the dwarf about his parents. Out of these features it is not difficult to reconstruct interesting new poems.

If, on the other hand, one approaches the phenomena from the point of view of a work of literature and its author, a very different picture emerges. One cannot seriously entertain it as a possibility that Sachs did not know the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*—it had been printed twice in his own town about thirty years before he wrote the play, it was still being printed at the time he wrote it, and we have contemporary evidence that it was popular (cf. Golther op. cit. p. xi)—and the textual picture presented by the extant prints points clearly to there having been complete identity of subject matter. We can state with equal confidence that he knew the *Rosengarten*. The two discrepancies mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph are obvious and would strike a casual reader as well as a trained Germanist—and will not have remained unnoticed by Hans Sachs. May we not attribute to him sufficient initiative not to leave such glaring contradictions? And does not the *Lied* itself show him in both cases the perfectly obvious way in which to remove them? He will have read in strophes 11 and 12 that from the smith Seyfrid went to Worms, and that he earned there the hand of the daughter of the king, and he will have noticed that the two recognitions (51, 5–8 and 101, 7–8) point also to his having been at Worms. He will also have noticed that in fact (46, 5) nothing has been said about Eugel recognizing Seyfrid; is it beyond poetic licence, or whatever other name one likes to give it, to rectify this omission? To my mind there can be no two answers to this question; and I maintain that to seek another answer when the first and obvious one is so satisfactory is methodologically unsound, unless there are elsewhere compelling reasons for doing so. Such compelling reasons I fail to see, even with the introduction of the death while sleeping; Grimm (op. cit.) maintains that this was an arbitrary alteration as the previous reason for Seyfrid's back to be turned was just as good. As we now know it, certainly it was, for we know about the hunt; but for a person who only knew the *Lied* it would not be so. The only explanation he would have of how Seyfrid came to be bending over a spring was that

Sie warn der Ritterschaffte
Geloffen in ein gesprech,

and that is scant and obscure enough! Here again I maintain that we have no evidence to postulate anything more than a poet trying to make the action as consistent and plausible as possible: we are no longer now dealing with "heroic" literature and consequently the desire for a siesta is in no way out of place. To my mind the position is similar to that of the "previous acquaintance" of Siegfried and Brünhild in the *Nibelungenlied*: in neither case is there any compelling reason for postulating these unknown sources, and in both they are postulated because scholars are too prone to stress the isolated occurrence of single motives, or features, and to take too little account of the fact that, for all their suitability for analytical experiments, these writings are in fact works of creative art. The fact remains that there was a poem with the title *Seyfrides hochzeyt*, and we are told that it deals in detail with the events of the hero's married life, and we are also told that there was a poem entitled *Sigfrides tôt*; of them we know only the titles. One of them, or both, may have contained the features here under discussion, but the occurrence of these features in the present context is no evidence that they did in fact contain them. If we are to reconstruct lost works of literature in this way—and I sometimes feel that we are tending in this direction—we shall soon find ourselves with a history of literature in which one conjecture is supported by another, but in which few works will be known from attested sources.

K. C. KING

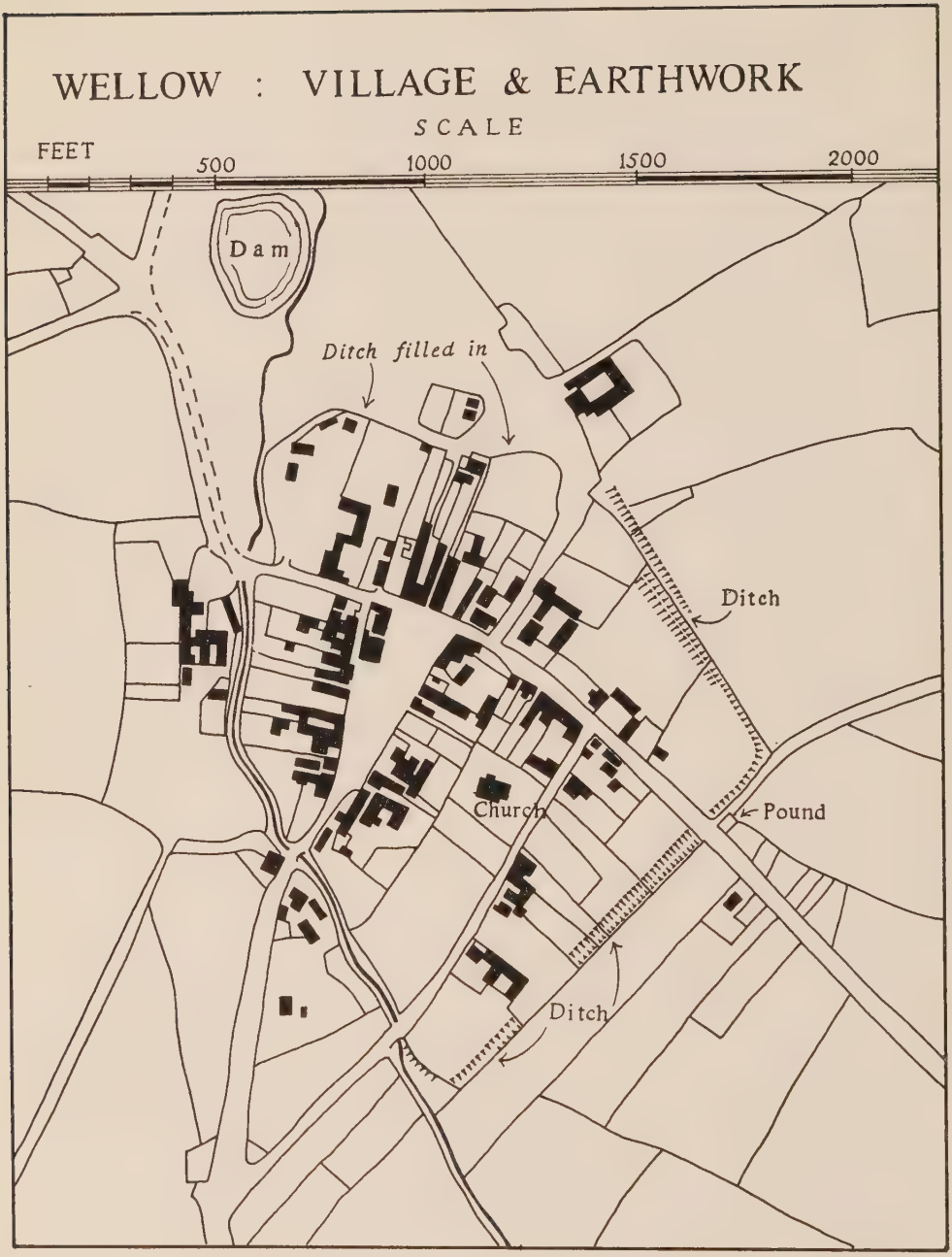
CISTERCIAN LAND CLEARANCES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE: THREE DESERTED VILLAGES AND THEIR MOATED SUCCESSOR

The establishment of a Cistercian abbey at Rufford, Nottinghamshire, in the central years of the twelfth century, led to the disappearance of three villages and to the growth of a new settlement, as well as to the alteration of parish boundaries and of the line of the main road. This article attempts to work out those changes in detail.

The area in question consists of the two adjacent parishes of Rufford and Wellow, or, more properly, Grimston with Wellow. They lie in the centre of the county, approximately midway between Mansfield and Newark-on-Trent. Geologically, they lie astride the junction of the Keuper marl and the Bunter sandstone; the former makes a slight escarpment, facing west; the village of Wellow lies on the edge of the marl, Rufford Abbey and the house which succeeded it just on the sandstone. The parish of Grimston with Wellow is entirely on the marl; Rufford is mainly on the sandstone, but obtrudes a long arm of land to the east, south of Wellow and between it and Eakring (see map, p. 81). Eakring and Wellow are relatively small, compact parishes; Rufford stretches about six miles from its focal point, the Abbey, at the north-east, to the outskirts of Rainworth village to the south-west. The two parishes are still mainly rural, though Rufford Colliery was opened in 1910 at the south-west end of the parish; the tip-heads of Bilsthorpe Colliery, to the south, extend to the very boundary of Rufford, and the parish is now crossed by two colliery railways. Most of Rufford is still forest: i.e. open heath with a few birch trees or Forestry Commission plantations.

At the time of Domesday this region contained four settlements. Grimston lay on the Ollerton-Newark road, one mile east of Wellow, near the crest of what is known as Grimston Hill. On the map to the Wellow Inclosure Award, dated 1842,[1] a field on the north side of the road is named Grimston Green, and beyond it another Great Grimston; south of the road is Grimston Mow Croft. These names pinpoint the site of the village, which was formerly visible on the ground but has now been ploughed out. The road here has been straightened, either by turnpike commissioners or by the inclosure commissioners in 1840–2; what appears to be a gulley, first to the north of the present line and then to the south of it, was then called Deep Lane. It has now been filled up and a garage stands on the made ground. In Domesday,

[1]The original award is in the County Record Office, and a copy in the keeping of the parish council.


WELLOW : VILLAGE & EARTHWORK
SCALE
FEET
500
1000
1500
2000
Dam
Ditch filled in
Ditch
Church
Pound
Ditch

Grimston is recorded as a berewick of the King's manor of Mansfield, with three sokemen and three bordars having two ploughs.[2] North of the site of the village is an earthwork known as Jordan Castle; Sir Frank Stenton, editing the Nottinghamshire Domesday, used as evidence for the identification and siting of Grimston the fact that in 1264 Richard Foliot, whose son was named Jordan, obtained licence to crenellate his manor house of Grimston.[3] In the wood to the north known now as Wellow Park there are "three large parallel" trenches running up the scarp; it has been suggested that they are an "old trackway leading to Jordan Castle."[4]

The village of Wellow lies at the south-west edge of the parish which it has appropriated. It is not mentioned in Domesday, and its establishment clearly post-dates the parochial boundaries. The village is most unusual in having a central green, round which most of the houses lie. Moreover, it is surrounded by a large ditch. On the south-west side the ditch takes advantage of the course of a small stream which has cut its bed through the marl to the sandstone below. On the north side the ditch has been filled in, but its line is clear as a property boundary and it is shown on a survey made in 1909 by E. A. Downman.[5] It has also been filled in behind a farm near the south-east corner. The remaining portions vary enough to suggest that different groups of men were responsible for different lengths of it. On the north-east side the ditch is about 8 ft. deep and the inner bank very pronounced; going east the ditch peters out and the road to Jordan Castle occupies its line at the north-east corner. The earthwork is thus earlier in date than the road to Jordan Castle. There is a slight change of line or character where it crosses the road going south-east to Grimston; south of it the earth of the bank is dispersed to form an inner platform, and the ditch (with a modern drainage grip cut in it) is wide and shallow. A small bank, surmounted originally by a fence or hedge, is not uncommon among midland villages;[6] its function was to keep animals grazing the stubbles of the open fields from straying into the home closes and gardens. The ditch at Wellow is much larger than surviving examples of such rings. A prehistoric origin for the earthwork is out of the question, in view of its situation at the foot of the slight scarp.[7] There are a number of

[2]V. C. H., *Notts.*, I, p. 250.

[3]*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258–66, pp. 307, 382.

[4]A. Oswald, "Some unrecorded earthworks in Notts." in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.*, 43 (1939), p. 15. Wellow Park was in existence by 1278, when Richard Foliot was given two bucks and ten does from Sherwood Forest to stock it; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1272–9, p. 402.

[5]British Museum, Add. MSS. 38600.

[6]It has been observed on the sites of Leicestershire deserted villages; W. G. Hoskins, *Essays in Leics. History*, p. 70. It can be seen at Keyworth, Notts.; the inclosure award for Rempston, Notts. refers to "the ring of the village" which is still clearly visible round the south side of the village. It encloses an area about 450 yards by 700 yards. Mr. J. G. Hurst tells me that there are good examples at Weaverthorpe and Bartindale in East Yorkshire.

[7]I understand that Mr. A. Oswald sectioned the ditch in two places, but was not fortunate enough to find any dating evidence.

small forts in the hills north-east of Nottingham[8] which are Iron Age in character; they all stand on a ridge or promontory. The recorded name of the moat is George Dike or Gorge Dike, but the name does not occur before the nineteenth century. Wellow is first mentioned in documents dated 1207–9 which will be discussed later. Its small church has a western tower whose lower stage, including the tower arch, is certainly twelfth century, and this is the earliest indication of the existence of the village.

In what is now Rufford parish there were in the time of Domesday three settlements. One of them, Rufford itself, had ten villeins having three ploughs, and Gilbert de Gant, whose manor it was, had one plough in demesne. The first problem is to locate the site of it, since the abbey destroyed it. There are two sources of evidence. The first is the numerous mediaeval perambulations of Sherwood Forest, since the main road from Nottingham, on or near which Rufford lay, formed the eastern boundary of the Forest. The other source is post-mediaeval records, particularly an estate map of Rufford in 1637 and the Parliamentary Surveys of the Commonwealth period in the Public Record Office.[9] In the perambulation of 1218 the Forest boundary ran from Nottingham "by the red road [perhaps Red Hill, Arnold] to Bacstanhou and thence to old Rucford and by the unfinished way to Welhag . . . ." *Bacstanhou* could not be located by Stevenson, but a Parliamentary Survey dated 1656 of that part of the Forest which lay in Rufford parish has a perambulation which, proceeding in the opposite direction, goes "out of the close of Welhaugh by the great way that goeth between Nottingham and Wellaugh till you come to Ruham Grange . . . to a footpath comeing from Ekring to Rufford and by the said path to Blackstone House now called South Sellars . . . ."[10] The 1637 map marks both Roumes Grange and South Sellars. From this evidence the site of Rufford may be equated with Roumes Grange, now the Old Kennels of the modern 6 in. map, and the rough ford which gave the village its name would be the crossing of the Gallow Hole Dyke 50 yards south of the present buildings. The line of the original road is visible as a hollow way going north on the east side of the buildings. The phrase "old Rucford" in 1218 implies that the village had already disappeared and given its name to the new Cistercian abbey a mile to the west. The 1637 site for *Bacstanhou* or Blackstone House is somewhat unexpected, since it is on ground falling down to Gallow Hole Dyke, but the name may have belonged originally to the small hill to the south, on the crest of which the mediaeval road has cut a pronounced hollow.

[8]i.e. Fox Wood between Woodborough and Lambley; Burton Lodge, above Burton Joyce; Combs Farm in Farnsfield, and possibly others. Casual finds and the results of very limited excavation are confined to Romano-British pottery, apart from bronzes said to have come from Combs Farm.

[9]Several perambulations are printed in *Dukery Records*, ed. R. White (Worksop, 1904), with notes by W. H. Stevenson. I am grateful to Mr. F. G. Ward for allowing me to borrow and trace the estate map of 1637; a photograph of it is now in the library of Nottingham University.

[10]P.R.O., Parl. Surveys, Notts., 22. The "close" or *clausum* of Wellow is the usual way of referring to the ditched enclosure in all the Forest perambulations from 1227 onwards.

Grange buildings stood at South Sellers in the middle ages[11] and perhaps a water mill. A linear earthwork, in the form of a bank below a ditch, follows the contours of the south side of the valley of Gallow Hole Dyke from a point above Roumes Grange to South Sellers; where it is ploughed out it shows as a soil mark and it ends in a scatter of building material. The alternative explanation of this earthwork is that it was intended to keep deer in the open park to the south out of the meadows by the stream, but its adherence to a contoured line rather suggests a mill leet.

The smallest of the Domesday settlements was *Wirchenefeld*, which was a berewick of Rufford and waste. It has been identified with Inkersall Grange, at the south end of the parish.[12] There is no positive evidence that it was populated, but Rufford possessed land there by 1156, and in *c.* 1180 a peasant named Wlsi of Wircnesfeud was farming at Eakring.[13] How he got there we shall later infer. The third village was Cratley, another manor of Gilbert de Gant. In Domesday[14] it has twenty-two villeins and two bordars having nine ploughs, as well as Gilbert's two ploughs in demesne—a large village. Thoroton identified it with Wellow, since the one appears in records as the other disappears. There is no obvious site for it in Grimston parish. The 1637 map names two fields as East and West Credlin, an acceptable form for descent from the *Cratela*, *Cratele*, etc., of twelfth century records. The fields lie in the tongue of Rufford parish protruding east between Wellow and Eakring; they are on low lying and level ground, on the north side of a small stream. They are under grass and have been so during living memory, but have formerly been ploughed, since they are ridged and furrowed. There are no surface indications of the existence of the village, but the fields are adjacent to Lound Wood, and mediaeval references to *Lunda de Cratele* or *Kratell cum Lound* seem to confirm the location.[15]

The foundation of Rufford Abbey by Gilbert de Gant in *c.* 1145 provides still another instance of the Cistercian policy of destroying existing villages and the normal manorial economy on their estates in order to achieve their ideal of monastic seclusion.[16] The closest parallel to Rufford is Revesby in Lincolnshire. There, the foundation charter names the men of Revesby, *Toresbi* and *Schithesbi* who were to be displaced; they were given the choice of taking other land offered by the founder, or of departing elsewhere.[17] In the case of

[11]P.R.O. List of Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses, Pt. 3, item No. 2827, dealing with the lands of Rufford, includes granges "called Wynkenfield, Sowthselerer, Ruham Graunge . . . ."

[12]*Place Names of Notts.*, p. 95.

[13]F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Documents*, p. 263. W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, pp. 307–8. See below, p. 87.

[14]V.C.H. *Notts.*, I, p. 280.

[15]*Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry II (1184–5), p. 114; *Feudal Aids*, IV, p. 95.

[16]The other recorded instances have been collected together by H. M. Colvin in "Deserted Villages and the Archaeologist", *Arch. News Letter*, iv (June-July, 1952).

[17]F. M. Stenton, *Facsimiles of Early Northants. Charters* (Northants. Record Soc., 1930), pp. 1–7.

Rufford responsibility for some at least of the removals was taken by the abbot and not by the founder. The Rufford cartulary contains the following charter:[18]

> Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris hanc esse convencionem inter monachos de Ruff' et homines qui ibidem manserant scilicet Walterum et Tchill' et Hucc' et Wictmerum filium eius et Albertum et Willelmum et Walterum fratrem Derig' et ipsum Derig' quod ipsi homines monachorum clamaverunt terram quam in ipsa villa possederant quietam monachis ipsis hominibus singulis secundum quod eis convenit largientibus Waltero x. solidos Thurch x. solidos Hucce et filio eius Wiccmero x. solidos Alberto xx. denarios Willelmo vj solidos et viij denarios Derig i. acram et Waltero fratri eius unam acram in Eic'ng. Praeterea monachi querint eis libertatem a Gilberto de Gant et heredibus eius auxilium et praestabunt eis monachi adversum quoscunque poterint in sermone et prece sua. Porro si quis eorum voluntate serviendi Deo tactus aut infirmitate compulsus venire ad eos voluerit suscipient eum secundum quod eis expedite iudicant. Hiis testibus Gaufrido Archidiacono Radulfo Archidiacono Nichola et Heberto cum aliis.

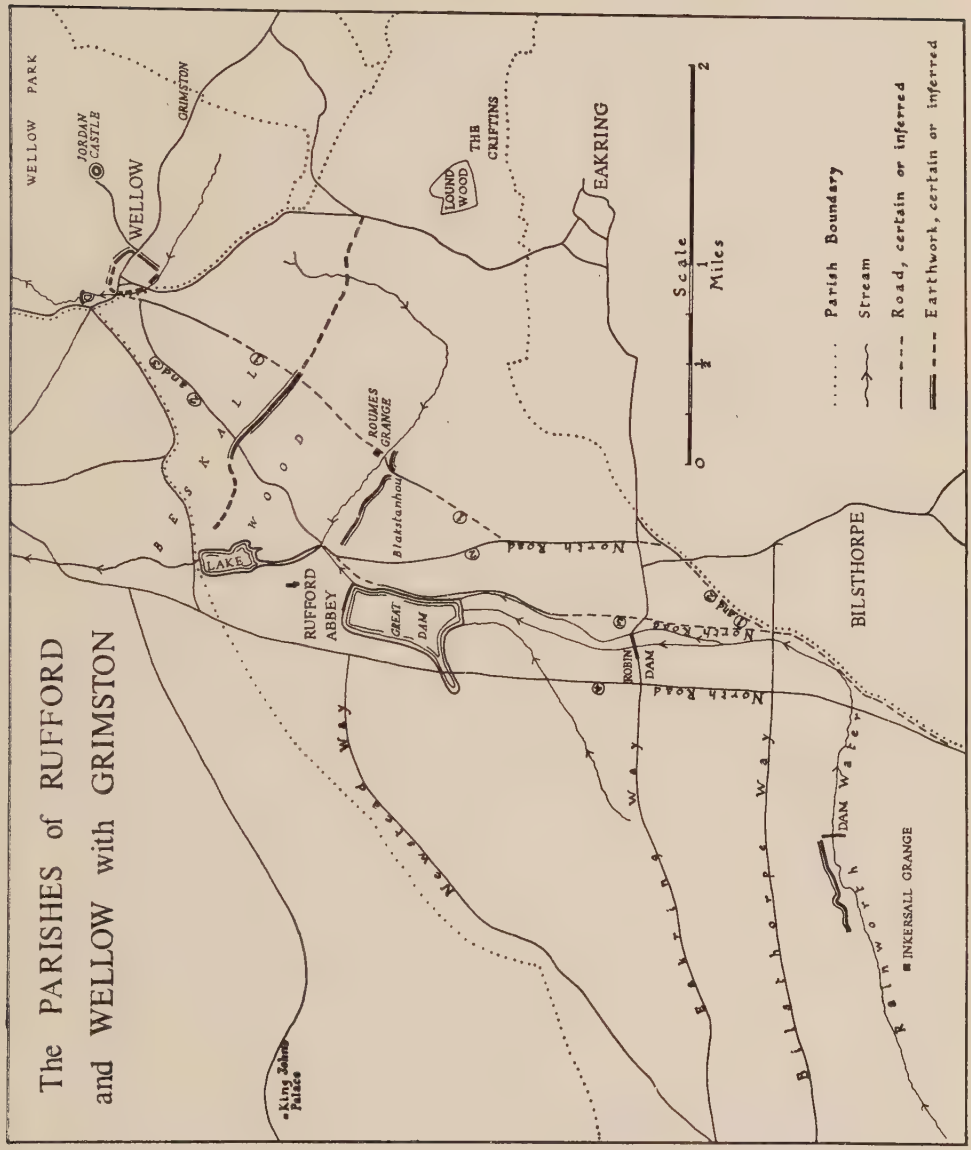
Of the two archdeacons who witness this charter, one must be Geoffrey Turcople, archdeacon of Nottingham from 1137 until 1140 and possibly until 1153. The other is Ralph Baro, archdeacon of an unidentified archdeaconry within the diocese of York from *c.* 1137–40 until *c.* 1158.[19] It appears therefore that the removal of these particular peasants, and their compensation for removal, took place within the first eight years or so of the founding of the new house.

It remains to examine the possibility of a link between the disappearance of Rufford and Cratley and the emergence of Wellow. The village of Grimston was not immediately affected by these changes, but appears ultimately to have declined owing to the more attractive siting of Wellow. The latter was more sheltered and had a better water supply; it lay on an important main road.

[18]There are two copies of the cartulary. One, in the Harley collection, is B. M. Harl. 1063. The other belongs to the Savile family and has recently been lent by Lady Savile to the B.M. I am indebted to her for consent to examine it and to Mr. R. G. C. Davis for telling me of its whereabouts. The charter here transcribed is on fo. 9b of Harl. 1063 and fo. 6b of the Savile cartulary. It is somewhat corrupt and I am grateful to Mrs. J. Varley and Miss D. M. Williamson for help in preparing the transcript. The translation reads—

> Be it known to all present and to come that this is the agreement between the monks of Rufford and the men who had dwelt there: that is, Walter and Tchill' and Hucca and Wictmer his son and Albert and William and Walter the brother of Derig' and Derig' himself: that these men of the monks have quitclaimed to the monks the land which they had in that vill, the monks bestowing on each of the men what seemed to them fitting: to Walter 10s.; to Thurch' 10s.; to Hucca and his son Wictmer 10s.; to Albert 20d.; to William 6s. 8d.; to Derig' one acre and to Walter his brother one acre in Eakring. Moreover the monks will seek for them liberty from Gilbert de Gant and his heirs and as far as they are able will support them against everyone by word and prayer; and if any of them, moved by the desire to serve God or impelled by infirmity, wishes to join the monks they will support him as far as seems to them expedient.

[19]C. T. Clay, "Early Archdeacons of York," in *Yorks. Arch. J.*, xxxvi (1941), pp. 268.



NOTES ON ROADS:

(1) The earliest line of the North Road, prior to 1150;

(2) diversion following the foundation of Rufford Abbey;

(3) line shown on map of 1637;

(4) present line.

The history of the manor of Grimston is more complex. In Domesday Grimston contained a royal manor assessed at 4 bovates which was a berewick of the manor of Mansfield, and also another 1½ bovates of sokeland of the same manor.[20] This latter parcel of sokeland was occupied by two sokemen with half a plough. A jury speaking in 1212 stated that Grimston with its appurtenances, which defended itself for two carucates (i.e. the total assessment of manor and sokeland together), were given to the church of Lincoln in alms when that cathedral church was founded before the conquest of the land; and Robert Bardolf now held them of Walter de Clifford by service of one knight and Walter in chief of the bishop and the church; the land had been given so long ago that no one knew who had given it.[21] This historical excursion of the jurors is not fully supported; in about 1141, however, King Stephen granted to bishop Alexander the pledges which Adelidis de Condet gave to Stephen of her castle of Thorngate in Lincoln and her lands, namely, Wickhambreaux in Kent, Grimston in Notts. and various lands south-west of Lincoln.[22] He was intended to hold them only until her son became of age, but he appears to have kept them, and thus the barony of Condet became part of the honour of the bishop of Lincoln. In inquisitions *post mortem* of the fourteenth century the manor of Grimston is said to have been held as of the manor of Thorney, Notts., part of the soke of Newark which belonged to the bishop of Lincoln in 1086. Thorney lies south-west of Lincoln close to the other manors referred to in 1141.[23] Walter de Clifford (d. 1222–3) married Agnes de Condet, heiress of the barony, and succeeded the Amundevilles as steward to the honour.[24] There is no other reference to Robert Bardolf's connection with Grimston. In 1210–12 the Lincolnshire knights of the bishop included a Jordan Foliot, who may have been the father or grandfather of the Richard Foliot of 1264 (above, p. 77).[25] Robert Bardolf died childless some time after 1212, leaving his estates to be divided between his five sisters. The third sister had Riseholme, near Lincoln, for her portion and married Sir Richard Foliot.[26] There can be no doubt that it was through this marriage that Richard Foliot became possessed of Grimston. The fact that Riseholme is not mentioned in the inquisition *post mortem* of 1299[27] is explained by the fact that Richard had given it in his lifetime to a younger son Edmund. It was presumably Richard's

[20] V.C.H. *Notts.*, I, p. 250.

[21] *Red Book II*, pp. 515–6.

[22] *Reg. Ant.* (Lincoln Record Soc.) I, p. 61; II, pp. 282–92.

[23] *Thoroton Records*, VI, p. 47, for inquisition on Margery de Foliot, 1330. In Queen's College MS. 366, fo. 13v., a list of knights fees dated *c.* 1225–31 includes the statement that Walter de Clifford holds two knights' fees in Thornhag', Grimeston, Welhag', and Besthorp.

[24] The jurors statement includes the remark: *et est seneschallus espiscopatus*, referring presumably to Walter de Clifford rather than William Bardolf.

[25] *Rot. Hund.*, ii, p. 303.

[26] *Monasticon*, VI (ii), p. 917. I am indebted to Mr. H. M. Colvin for this reference, as well as for other suggestions which have improved this paper.

[27] *Cal. Inqu. P.M.*, iii, p. 335.

elder son Jordan whose name is commemorated in Jordan Castle, although it was Richard who actively developed the estate in the years following 1264; he embattled his house, stocked (and perhaps made) his park, secured a grant of a market at Wellow, and provoked complaints from the wapentake at the tolls and prises his bailiffs exacted in the market from the men of the demesne of Mansfield.[28] In 1299 Richard Foliot and his son Jordan died within five weeks of each other, and the inheritance was divided between Richard's two daughters, who married Hugh de Hastings of Elsing, Norfolk, and John Camoys.[29] The manor of Grimston fell to Sir Hugh Hastings, and presumably Jordan Castle then ceased to be occupied; only a slight earthwork of approximately circular form is now visible.

It is possible that Wellow stands on the sokeland of the manor of Grimston referred to in Domesday, and that with the consent of the bishop of Lincoln some of the displaced peasants, made free through the good offices of the abbot of Rufford, were allowed to join a small settlement of sokemen. It is also possible that the earthwork surrounding the village is a "hay" of Dark Age date which was occupied at the time of Domesday by the two sokemen there referred to. The place name means "an enclosure near a spring";[30] no doubt the enclosure in question is that surrounding the village, and the spring emerges north-west of the village and feeds the Wellow Dam (see map, p. 76). The enclosure did not exist at the time when the parish boundaries were drawn, or it contained then no settlement of any consequence, because the stream which forms part of its boundary is also the parish boundary. That is to say, the boundary of Grimston parish was drawn for Grimston alone and not for Grimston with Wellow. The "hay" is referred to in several of the perambulations of Sherwood Forest, which usually specify that the boundary of the royal forest so runs "that the enclosure of the town of Welhagh' is without the forest."[31] The suggestion that it was a royal hay is made by the same perambulation, which continues: "saving to the king the hay of Wellag and all his demesne lands . . . lying westwards." The only analogous earthwork is the one lying one mile north of Oxton, named *Iverishagh* in the Welbeck cartulary, and used in the twelfth century as the meeting place of the wapentake of Thurgarton.[32] It is oval in shape, about 230 yards in diameter at its longest, and lies immediately below the crests of hills, surrounded by higher ground. It has a single bank and ditch except on its lowest side, where they are doubled. Like Wellow, it lies near the boundary of Sherwood Forest, and the siting seems to render a prehistoric origin out of the question. If a pre-Conquest or early mediaeval date is accepted, the purpose of these enclosures remains

[28] *Rot. Hund.*, ii, p. 303.

[29] *Thoroton Soc. Records*, VI, p. 47.

[30] P.N. Soc., *Place Names of Notts.*, p. 64.

[31] Perambulation of 1232, *Dukeries Records*, p. 399; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, I, pp. 165–6.

[32] *P.N. Notts.*, p. 154. There is a plan of it in V.C.H. *Notts.*, I, p. 298.

obscure. The word "hay" or "haw" (in its English form of *haga* or Scandinavian *hagi*) is a common element in Nottinghamshire place names; it can mean a small enclosure for a house or hunting lodge,[33] or a large area of woodland in which deer were confined as clearance proceeded.[34] Wellow and the earthwork north of Oxton are intermediate in size and scale; they are clearly not preserves, and seem somewhat more in keeping with ideas of communal defence than of individual residence.

If this hay was not already in existence in 1140, the alternative explanation is that it was constructed by peasants made homeless during or shortly after the anarchy of Stephen and anxious to establish themselves where they and their cattle could not be plundered. Conditions in central Nottinghamshire may well have given some encouragement to such an anxiety. There were four motte and bailey castles within five miles of Wellow, and a fifth within eight miles. Of them, Laxton is early and the head of an important barony; of the others, Cuckney is certainly, and Egmanton, Haughton and Bothamsall may well be, unlicensed erections of the period of the anarchy.[35] Cuckney church, which has a late Norman doorway, stands within the defences of a motte and bailey castle built by Thomas de Cuckney. He founded the Premonstratensian house of Welbeck not only "for my soul and the souls of my father and mother and ancestors" but also for the souls "of all those whom I have unjustly plundered."[36] In the course of excavation in 1951 under Cuckney church, when the National Coal Board took steps to prevent damage by subsidence, a large number of burials was found in trenches running north and south below the church and antedating its building.[37] The bodies may well have been those of some of his victims. It is possible that, to guard against such plundering, the Rufford and Cratley men, in building Wellow, moated it round and left an open area in the centre in which they could impound their stock. There is only one other village with a green in Nottinghamshire—Car Colston—and there is no parallel for the triangular green at Wellow. Those Lincolnshire villages with open centres, such as Folkingham and Market Stainton, had markets in the middle ages and later. Richard Foliot obtained the grant of a market for Wellow in 1268.[38] It is thus possible that Wellow Green is a mediaeval market place comparable with the market places shaped like an

[33]Earlshaw in Caunton is recorded in 1166 (*P.N. Notts.*, p. 184) and is comparable with Alderman's Haw in Charnwood Forest; both are presumably of pre-Conquest origin. No distinct earthwork of early date survives in either case.

[34]E. g. Linby Hay, *Rohagh* in Winkburn (*P.N. Notts.*, p. 198), or *Littlehag* in Eakring (B. M. Harl. 1063, fo. 8b).

[35]Egmanton and Bothamsall are well recognised; the motte at Haughton was embodied in a decoy in the eighteenth century.

[36]Stenton, *English Feudalism*, p. 199; a fascimile of the foundation charter in the Welbeck cartulary is printed by A. Hamilton Thompson in *The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck*, p. 12. For Thomas de Cuckney and his connections, see H. M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, pp. 33, 35, 64.

[37]*Thoroton Soc. Trans.*, LV (1951), pp. 26–9.

[38]*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1257–1300, p. 113; see also *Rot. Hund*, ii, p. 303.

elongated V which have been discerned in Hertfordshire.[39] On the other hand while the Newark-Ollerton road forms the base of the Wellow triangle, its apex opens from the Eakring road, which is of no more than local significance. The line of the great north road of the twelfth and earlier centuries survives as an accommodation road, almost continuous from the Old Kennels to the west side of Wellow, outside the earthwork. The form of the village is much more like the green villages of County Durham; whatever their date, those greens no doubt served as compounds into which cattle could be driven while the inhabitants kept watch for Scottish raiders from the rear of their homesteads.[40] The entrance to Wellow from the south-east would be more apt for bringing in cattle from the open fields than potential customers past the market stalls. It is not possible to be sure how much evidence there is of widespread devastation in the country during the anarchy, and hence how strong might have been the impetus to construct such a defensive work *ab initio*. Apart from the existence of motte and bailey castles, Nottingham is said to have suffered destruction in 1140, and fortifications are said to have been erected at Southwell.[41] It has been argued from the assessments for Danegeld in the second year of Henry II that there was much devastation in the midland counties; on the other hand, the powerful position of the midland earls seems to make such damage to their dominions hard to believe.[42]

The inhabitants of Wellow were regarded as free men in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the inquisition *post mortem* of Margery de Foliot, d. 1330, already quoted, there is a reference to the free tenants at Wellow.[43] The villagers displayed an independent, if not turbulent, spirit, which is in keeping with a novel origin for the settlement, and which lasted a long time. The churches of the soke of Mansfield were given to the church of Lincoln by William II in 1093.[44] When there is evidence for a church at Wellow it appears as a chapel of ease of Edwinstowe, one of the churches named in the grant. The inhabitants of Wellow may have built the church themselves. In 1250 they agreed with the dean and chapter of Lincoln, as patrons of Edwinstowe, "to maintain an honest chaplain ministering in the church of Wellow, and to maintain a fit clerk, and to bear the charges of the chapel." Evidence of villages acting in this manner is very rare, and the fact that the *communitas*

[39]W. Page, "The Origins and Forms of Hertfordshire Towns and Villages," *Archaeologia*, LXIX, (1920) pp. 49–50.

[40]H. Thorpe, "The Green Villages of County Durham," *Transactions and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1949, p. 178.

[41]V.C.H., *Notts.*, I, p. 321–2. If the latter is correct, the earthwork recorded on Burgage Hill (*ibid.*, p. 304) may be the fortifications in question.

[42]See H. W. C. Davis "The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign,", *Engl. Hist. Review*, XVIII (1903), p. 630; H. A. Cronne, "Rannulph earl of Chester," *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 1937, pp. 129–30. The problem is discussed in A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, pp. 151–3.

[43]*Thor. Soc. Records*, V, p. 47.

[44]*Reg. Ant.* (Lincoln Record Soc.), I, p. 17.

of Wellow had its own seal to append to the agreement makes it the more remarkable.[45]

A dispute between Rufford abbey and Wellow early in the thirteenth century makes it certain that the Wellow men were free, and suggests strongly that they had connections with the land of Rufford that they were reluctant to give up. Between Wellow and the abbey lay Beskall Wood; its name survives as Bescar Lane, and on the 1637 map it is shown divided into two portions: "Welley Beskall" and "In Beskall," the division running east and west. That division was made in the first decade of the thirteenth century. In the Pipe Roll of 1207 the abbot accounts for ten marks "for license to build houses and place men on his land next to the great way to defend his wood in which the men of Wellow were accustomed to hunt provided that he does not obstruct the highway."[46] The dispute is made clearer in a suit brought before the king's court in 1210 by William son of Robert, William son of Guy and Geoffrey son of Asce, all of Wellow. They charged the abbot with unjust disseisin of their common pasture. The abbot was able to produce letters of John granting the monks license "to erect a certain bank between their Beskall Wood and the village of Wellow and that the monks might build what houses they wished between Wellow and the bank for men who would guard the bank." The Wellow men had refused to accept this division; in 1209 they were fined the large sum of twenty marks "for pulling down the houses of the monks of Rufford."[47] In the lawsuit they replied that the king had not intended to deprive them of their right and they placed themselves on the jury. The abbot had the further good argument, in feudal law, that they could not claim common rights in his pasture, because the two parties were in different baronies: i.e. the barony of Robert de Condet and the barony of Gilbert de Gant, and that a division had been made between the baronies so that neither could have common pasture in the other.[48] No doubt the Wellow men lost their case. The line between Wellow Beskall and In Beskall is named Scotland Bank on the modern O.S. 6 in. map. There is no bank visible at the western end; further east, beyond the position of the name Scotland Bank but still within the Beskall Wood of 1637, the bank is clearly visible at the northern edge of New Park Wood. On level ground it is thrown up from both sides, the two ditches being about 2 ft. deep, and the distance between their outer margins about 15 ft.[49] It probably ran originally as far as the Wellow-Eakring

[45]*Reg. Ant.*, II, pp. 310–2.

[46]Pipe Roll Soc., N.S., 22, p. 124.

[47]Pipe Roll Soc., N.S., 24, p. 118.

[48]*Curia Regis Rolls*, VI, p. 104.

[49]Such boundary banks must have been very common in Sherwood Forest; mediaeval records frequently refer to them, and the later perambulations of Rufford and other Forest parishes often proceed along banks "thrown up as a bounder." See for instance, *Thoroton Soc. Records*, IV, pp. 14, 93; White, *Dukery Records*, pp. 216–7. They are very difficult to locate, but the attempt would be rewarding. The northern boundary of Thurgarton parish, near the farm named Thurgarton Quarters, has such a bank.

road, for a wide grass track still runs from New Park Wood to that point, and it seems to have no significance as an accommodation way (see map, p. 81).

Some at least of the *Cratela* men must have settled in Eakring, though there is no formal record of the fact, and the men of Rufford and *Cratela* are not easily separated in charters.[50] *Cratela* had a church; among the rights which the abbey had to buy out were those of the former parson, Thomas son of Paul, the last person entitled to the tithes of the parish.[51] Once this was done, the parish of *Cratela* could be merged with Rufford, giving that parish its present boundaries on the east side. It is unlikely that *Wirchenefeld* had a parish church, but the acquisition of the land of the settlement must be the reason for the extension of Rufford south-westwards. A Rufford charter dated late in Henry II's reign refers to a peasant named *Wlsi de Wircnesfeud*, who possessed a whole furlong in Eakring.[52] It is most unusual for a peasant to hold as much land as that in a compact piece, and it may be that he had been bought, at a high price, out of a holding in the place from which he took his name. In 1229–33 Ralph fitz Nicholas gave his land in *Wilkenefeld'* to Rufford,[53] whose possessions there were thus rounded off.

In addition to the removal of the population and the establishment of granges, the Cistercians tried to improve the land by making good a serious deficiency of the sandstone—shortage of water. In the Hundred Rolls Rufford abbey is charged with making a *stagnum* at *Wilkenfield*.[54] *Stagnum* could mean a mill pond but could equally mean a dam, and if so this is the first reference to the practice of damming the water of a stream to irrigate the adjacent land. A number of valleys in central Nottinghamshire still have a string of lakes, frequently called dams. It had been thought that they were the work of improving landlords of the modern period but it is clear that they go back in fact to the Middle Ages.[55] Inkersall Dam, which may thus have been constructed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, is referred to in the Parliamentary Survey of 1656,[56] but is now dry. It is visible as a bank across the valley of Rainworth Water about 1,100 yards west of the main road. It has a marginal bank along its north side which is probably the leet for the

[50]A deed in the Rufford cartulary, fo. 7b, in which Ralf son of Reinger and all his men of Cratela gave to the abbey all the land which he cultivated between the waters called Hugeles and Fulsic, and in which he explicitly relinquished rights of pasture there, is witnessed by all the men who were parties to the agreement quoted above.

[51]Idem, fo. 10b.

[52]The charter is printed by Stenton in *Danelaw Documents*, p. 263.

[53]*Close Rolls*, 1229, p. 225; 1232, p. 207. He had got permission from the king to make a ditch and hedge round his land at Wilkenefeld', which was within the bounds of Sherwood Forest, so that the beasts of the Forest could go in and out without impediment, and to cultivate it.

[54]*Rot. Hund.*, II, pp. 26, 303.

[55]See "The Land of Britain," Pt. 60, *Nottinghamshire*, ed. K. C. Edwards, for a map of the Duke of Portland's irrigation scheme in the Maun valley, *c.* 1840; see Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, VI, 87, for a reference to "the famous Carburton dam," in 1725.

[56]P.R.O., Parl. Surveys, Notts., 24.

mill which is also referred to in the Parliamentary Survey. The 1637 map of Rufford shows a body of water immediately south of the house, named the Great Dam, with an extension to the west named the Swing Dam. A third, named Robin Dam, was dry in 1637; it still carries the Mansfield-Eakring road across the valley of Rainworth Water (see map, p. 81). The earliest documentary reference to Rufford Dam is in 1335,[57] which could indicate either Robin Dam or the Great Dam. The estate map shows a pattern of irrigation dykes (which still exist) crossed by the King's Causey and the Prince Elector's Causey. These references to James I and his son-in-law suggest a date soon after 1613 for the names, and perhaps for some modification of the scheme. Wellow Dam, formed by damming the spring just below the village, is not mentioned until the nineteenth century, but may plainly be a good deal older.

There remains to be described the changes to the main Nottingham-Ollerton road, the "road towards York" of Domesday Book and the "great way of Blyth" of mediaeval records. From Nottingham to the southern boundary of Rufford parish the present road still follows the early line, as parish boundaries prove. North of Rufford it ran from the western side of the *hagh* or close of Wellow through Boughton (by Whinney Lane) and then along a track which is also a parish boundary to a bridge over the Maun at Conjure Alders, an important point in the perambulations. The fact that Wellow thus lay not only outside the jurisdiction of the forest laws but on the then main road north was no doubt influential in the choice of the site. Within Rufford parish, the destruction of the old village seems to have led to an immediate alteration of the line of the road, judging from the phrase "the unfinished way" (*inceptam viam*) in the 1232 perambulation. The establishment of the abbey, with its promise of hospitality on a lonely stretch of road, which skirted the forest and passed no village between Nottingham and this point, may have led travellers to bear westwards, past the abbey gates.

The 1637 map marks the road, named the London Road, east of Rainworth Water and skirting the head of the Great Dam. This course is now a pleasant track through the narrow plantation fringing Rufford Park. In 1658 an application was made to the county justices, on behalf of Sir George Savile, to move the main road still further west, on the grounds that the suggested line would be "higher upon the forest and a straighter and nearer way."[58] Since the Parliamentary Survey of 1656 refers to "the new high way leading from Ollerton by Winkensfield Mill," it appears that Savile was seeking sanction for a change that had already taken place. The change certainly put the road distinctly on to the sandstone formation. It also removed it from Rufford Park and the more private side of the Savile residence, and must have involved the destruction of the Swing Dam, whose bed the main road now crosses. In 1665 Charles II granted license to the Earl of Clare, who lived at Haughton,

[57] *Stagnum de Rufford* in Forest Proceedings at the P.R.O., according to *Place Names of Notts.*, p. 96.

[58] *Notts. County Records*, ed. H. H. Copnall (Nottingham, 1915), p. 78.

five miles north of Rufford, to divert the road at Conjure Alders.[59] It was said that the river Maun, which the ancient road crossed at that point, had been diverted fifty years before, and a new route then adopted for which this license was in effect confirmation. The oblique reference to a diversion of the Maun may indicate irrigation work in the early seventeenth century. The Great Dam and the Swing Dam at Rufford are now dry; a new lake, made presumably *c.* 1656, lies north of the house, beyond the point where Rainworth Water is joined by Gallow Hole Dike. The few cottages which are now regarded as Rufford village lie at the foot of this lake.

It is thus clear that the topography of the area has seen remarkable changes spread over a very long period. They would have been much less likely to happen in any other geological setting. On the Bunter sandstone the bare sand made a good road which remained level and dry, and it was particularly easy to shift the road to a new line. Nor on any other type of soil would the creation of artificial lakes have been contemplated. The other factor—the presence of landowners, whether a Cistercian house or a landed family of the seventeenth century, with the resources and the inclination to bring about such sweeping changes—is also a consequence of the physical environment: large estates were more easily built up on such poor soil, thinly populated, than on richer soil with a denser pattern of stable villages. The modern equivalent of the Cistercians and the Stuart gentry is the National Coal Board. It ought to be noted that the spring which in 1637 fed the Great Dam, and which used to be known locally as "Fail me never," has dried up completely as a consequence of pumping arrangements made to drain Rufford colliery.

M. W. Barley

[59] *Dukery Records*, p. 397.